

author himself thoroughly appreciated the benefit of being in the hands of a printer whose resources enabled him to reproduce Sanskrit or Arabic in their proper characters, with equal, if not greater facility than the anomalous dotted and accented hybrids our current type would, at the best, have admitted of.

The system I have now attempted to follow has been to recognize and retain all fixed Anglicized forms, and at the same time to embody the more definite sounds of local speech, in preference to any critical adherence to the occasionally divergent alphabets of Devanágari and Arabic. Dealing with Turanian Persian, redolent of the atmosphere of Dehli, which severe Continental Professors somewhat needlessly disparage, I have permitted myself a latitude which would neither stand the test of Iranian Persian, nor, in the adapted words, <sup>the</sup> the criticism of an Arabic grammarian. I have further necessarily discarded uniformity, by frequently adhering, in my quotations, to the method of spelling favoured by the original author ; so that there is, perhaps, no one of my narrow list of seeming innovations for which I could not cite, from my own extracts, previous and competent authority.

The second question refers to the general absence of translations of coin legends and illustrative texts.

It has been generally confessed from the first day "Aladdin" appeared in a European dress, that Oriental names would not bear translation, and the inflated titles of the East, rendered in the subdued language of the West, would jar even more harshly upon English ideas. My leading object in this work has been to collect materials for history, in the form of documents, which it was primarily desirable to retain in their most authentic form, or in the nearest possible approach to their original integrity,—translations in such cases would be, in effect, mere repetitions; but wherever these documents have any reference to the immediate subject of discussion, free illustrations of the context are given.

The compiler of a record like the present is more than ordinarily dependent upon the aid of his fellow-labourers: it will be seen that the number of my disinterested contributors, though necessarily inconsiderable, has been compensated by the fullness and freeness of their gifts. My obligations are due to the many collectors of coins whose names are indicated, in more detail, in the body of the work and in the subjoined note upon the depositories of existing cabinets. I am indebted to Mr. Fergusson for the use of the effective architectural engravings

which illustrate the text. The woodcuts of coins, as may be gathered from their treatment, are the work of different hands, and vary in their execution to a marked degree. The best shaded examples are by Mr. J. Schnorr of Stuttgart; the engravings of Mr. Adeney are next in merit; but it is confessedly difficult to get first-class artists to undertake such complicated, and to them unintelligible subjects. So that I can scarcely bring myself to reproach the authors of my numerous disappointments in this direction.

The ground plan of Dehli, which figures as the frontispiece, is itself a curious "Old Mortality" style of document, commemorative of the earliest English survey of the environs of the ancient capital of the Patháns, as we received it from the hands of the Mahrattas after Lord Lake's action in 1803. It has been reduced in photography, by Dr. Forbes Watson's establishment, from the original Survey Map now in the Mackenzie Collection in the India Office.

London,

*February 25, 1871.*

NOTE ON THE OWNERSHIP AND PRESENT DEPOSITORIES OF THE  
VARIOUS COLLECTIONS OF COINS QUOTED IN THIS WORK.

- 1 Marsden Collection, in the British Museum, fully described in his work entitled *Numismata Orientalia* (London, 1823)
- 2 The collection in the India Office, many specimens of which are noticed and engraved in Professor Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua* (London, 1841)
- 3 My own original collection, comprising the coins figured in plates i-v of this volume, now in the British Museum. A limited but select cabinet of my later acquisitions in my own possession
- 4 Mr Edward Clive Bayley's collection, which formed the ground work of my Supplement, printed at Dehli in 1851. In the owner's possession (In England)
- 5 Colonel Stacy's collection in the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (In Calcutta)
- 6 Mr George Freeling's collection, partly in the Bodleian at Oxford, with the Bardoe Elliot bequest, and partly in the hands of his widow
- 7 Colonel Guthrie's collection, comprising selected specimens of the Kooch Bahar trouvaille (plate vi), and the choice Pathan series, so often quoted in these pages, which now embraces the accumulated treasures of General Cunningham and Major Stubbs's most successful gleanings of the last few years (In England)
- 8 Sir Walter Elliot has some curious specimens of the local series of the Dakhan, and Sir Bartle Frere has a large collection of Indian coins, which I have not yet had an opportunity of examining
- 9 There are a few Pathan coins in Russia, descriptions of which will be found in Fréhn's "Recensio Numorum Muhammadanorum," and M. Bora's Supplement to that work. Many dispersed specimens are also quoted, from continental cabinets, in the posthumous collection of M. Soret's Essays

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# THE PATHÁN KINGS OF DEHLI,

ETC.

THE history of Muhammadan nations is especially open to .

The original design of the *tughrá*, or Cipher Monogram, which ornaments the cover of this volume, was cut by the Author in 1842, as a centre-piece for the panels of a Coin Cabinet. The bookbinder's reproduction in metal has failed to give effect to some of the minor details, but the initiated may still trace the name of <sup>۱۸</sup> اکبر دہلی (Edward Thomas, 42) in the interwoven lines.

regal functions, involved in the right to coin. Among these peoples, the recitation of the public prayer in the name of the aspirant to the throne, associated with the issue of money bearing his superscription, was unhesitatingly received as the overt act of accession. Unquestionably, in the state of civilization here obtaining, the production and facile dispersion of a new royal device was singularly well adapted to make manifest to the comprehension of all classes the immediate change in the supreme ruling power. In places where men did not *print*, these stamped moneys obtruding

into every Bázár constituted the most effective manifestoes and proclamations human ingenuity could have devised readily multiplied, they were individually the easiest and most naturally transported of all official documents, the veriest *Fulir*, in his semi nude costume, might carry the ostensible proof of a new dynasty into regions where even the name of the kingdom itself was unknown. In short, there was but little limit to the range of these Eastern heralds, the Numismatic Garter King-at Arms was recognized wherever Asiatic nations accepted the gold, and interpreters could be found to designate the Cæsar whose "epigraph" figured on its surface. So also on the occasion of new conquests, the reigning Sultán's titles were ostentatiously paraded on the local money, ordinarily in the language and alphabet of the indigenous races, to secure the more effective announcement of the fact that they themselves had passed under the sway of an alien Suzerain. Equally, on the other hand, does any modification of or departure from the rule of a comprehensive issue of coin imply an imperfection, relative or positive, in the acquisition of supreme power. There are but few instances of abstention from the exercise of this highly prized prerogative in the present series, but in all such cases the guiding motives are sufficiently ascertained.

The epoch which the present series of medals illustrates extends from A.D. 1192 to 1554, or a period of somewhat more than three centuries and a half during this interval six dynasties numbering in all forty kings, succeeded in turn to the throne of Dehli. I purposely avoid any attempt at a general definition of the boundaries of the empire, at all times uncertain in extent, varying from the extreme limits of Eastern Bengal on the one side, to Kabul and Kandahár

on the west, with Sindh and the Southern Peninsula to complete the circle; occasionally reduced to a few districts around the capital, and in one instance confined to the single spot inclosed within the walls of the metropolis itself.

The materials at present available suffice to determine, with some accuracy, the theoretical standards of the currency of the Pathán Sultáns. Some new evidence on the subject has lately come to light in the journals of Western travellers in India during the first half of the eighth century of the Hijrah, which coincides in a singular manner with the data afforded by the weights and intrinsic contents of existing coins; so that we are now in a position to maintain with confidence that the scheme of coinage, adopted by Altamsh from possibly conflicting native traditions, recognized the use of gold and silver pieces of equal weights, the metal in each case being as pure as the processes known to the home refiners permitted them to achieve. The intentional Mint standard must have ranged very closely upon the 175 grains, Troy, which amount can be nearly told in the balance by the better specimens to be found in modern cabinets, a definite weight also, for which there was high authority in the *Sataraltika*, or "One hundred rati," divisional term, which appears in early post-Vedic commentaries. The most important elements, however, of this adaptive Indian currency, consisted of hybrid pieces of silver and copper, combined in the proportions necessary to constitute the equivalent sub-divisions of the ruling silver *Tankah*, which, although it was anomalously composed of 100 Indian *Gunjá* seeds (*Abrus precatorius*), was never divided in practice by any other number than 64. The favourite sub-divisional current piece, in more advanced times, seems to have been

4 or  $\frac{1}{4}$ , which latter denomination it preserved in the *Hashi Kani*, or "Eight Kanis," the counterpart and correspondent of eight Jitals, 64 of which also fell into the general total of a *Tankah*. And here it would seem that more purely indigenous traditions had to be reconciled to intermediate Aryan innovations. The new *Tankah* might rule and regulate its own subdivisions, but it does not seem to have been able to emancipate itself from the old silver *Purana* of 32 Ratis of Manu's Code, which maintained its old weight of 56 grains, in independent isolation, down to the time of Muhammad bin Tughlak. So intuitive in the native mind was the idea of reckoning by fours, the 'Gundá' of the modern indigène, that gold and silver were supposed to conform to some such law, being estimated theoretically, whatever the current rate may have been at any given moment, at 1 8. So also the silver piece was divided into 8 (or primarily  $8 \times 8$ ), and the copper exchange against silver commenced with 4 *sals* to the  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a *Tankah*. The Quaternary scale, in short, was all pervading, there was no escaping the inevitable 4's, 16's, 32's, and 64's, the heritage of the masses, which, having survived alike Aryan intrusion and Muhammadan conquest, still flourish undisturbed by the presence of British decimals.

The modifications effected in the coinage by Muhammad bin Tughlak are highly instructive, and seem to determine beyond question the ratios of gold to silver obtaining at the period. Not less worthy of study is his attempt to introduce a forced currency of copper tokens. The amplification by Firuz Sháh of the divisional pieces of mixed copper and silver is also of importance, as leading up to the almost exclusive use of this species of currency under Bahlol Lodi and his son Sikandar, and, finally, in the

reforms perfected by Shír Sháh,—the production of the “Rupee” (of 178 grains), and the substitution of copper coins for the fallacious mixed-metal pieces,—may be seen the almost unchanged condition of the lower currencies of Her Majesty’s Government in India at the present day.

Amid the general series of the coins of the Dehli monarchs I have also incorporated notices of many collateral issues, more or less directly identified with their rule, such as the local moneys superseded and imitated on the immediate absorption of the kingdoms of the Hindú potentates: offshoots of the Ghazní and Dehli systems from the mints of the Muslim contemporaries of the early occupying conquerors, who held, in their own right, outlying provinces in India. And, more consecutively, reference has been made to the currencies of their fellow-warriors for the faith in Bengal, who from time to time confessed allegiance to the Sultáns of Hindústán. And, lastly, advantage has been taken of an analogous species of illustration contributed by the inscriptions recorded on the public monuments of the Imperial dynasty, which, in early days, were largely and effectively employed in the decoration of the walls and gateways of mosques, palaces, and tombs. These essentially Oriental compositions, whether as regards the ornamental form of the Arabesque, or the more stern chiselling of the Kufic letters, may freely vie with the best specimens of Saracenic art extant.

I now proceed to exhibit a complete list of the sovereigns of the Pathán dynasty, with the dates of accession of each. I must premise that I have intentionally retained the Hijrah era as the leading reference for all dates, as in many cases where the precise period in Muhamminadan

months or days was uncertain, it would have been impossible to fix the corresponding epoch in the Christian era. Hence I have adopted the plan of annexing to the bare Hijrah date of the elevation of each king, the day and the year of our calendar answering to the initial day of the Hijrah year so quoted. The note at the foot of this page,<sup>1</sup> giving the names and order of the Arabic months, and the rules for calculating the irregularities of the Muhammadan year, will efficiently supply the references to intermediate periods.

<sup>1</sup> The Hijrah era commenced on the 15th July, A.D. 622. The year is purely lunar, consisting of twelve months, each month being reckoned from the appearance of the new moon, without any intercalation. In practice, months of 30 and 29 days are made to alternate, thus completing a year of 354 days eleven times in thirty years one day is added to the last month, making 355 days in that year. So that the average length of a year is  $354\frac{1}{12}$  days, a month, or  $\frac{1}{12}$ , being  $29\frac{1}{12}\frac{1}{12}$ . The intercalary year of 355 days occurs on the 2nd, 5th, 7th, 10th, 13th, 15th, 18th, 21st, 24th, 26th, and 29th years of every thirty years.

THE MUHAMMADAN MONTHS ARE AS FOLLOWS —

|    |             |                  |         |
|----|-------------|------------------|---------|
| 1  | محرّم       | Muharram,        | 30 days |
| 2  | صفر         | Safar,           | 29 "    |
| 3  | ربيع الاول  | Rabi' ul awwal,  | 30 "    |
| 4  | ربيع الآخر  | Rabi' ul akhir,  | 29 "    |
| 5  | جمادي الاول | Jumadā' I awwal, | 30 "    |
| 6  | جمادي الآخر | Jumadā' I akhir, | 29 "    |
| 7  | رجب         | Rajab,           | 30 "    |
| 8  | شعبان       | Sh abán          | 29 "    |
| 9  | رمضان       | Ramazan,         | 30 "    |
| 10 | شوّال       | Shawwal,         | 29 "    |
| 11 | ذي القعده   | Zi l k'adah,     | 30 "    |
| 12 | ذى الحجه    | Zi l hijjah,     | 29 "    |

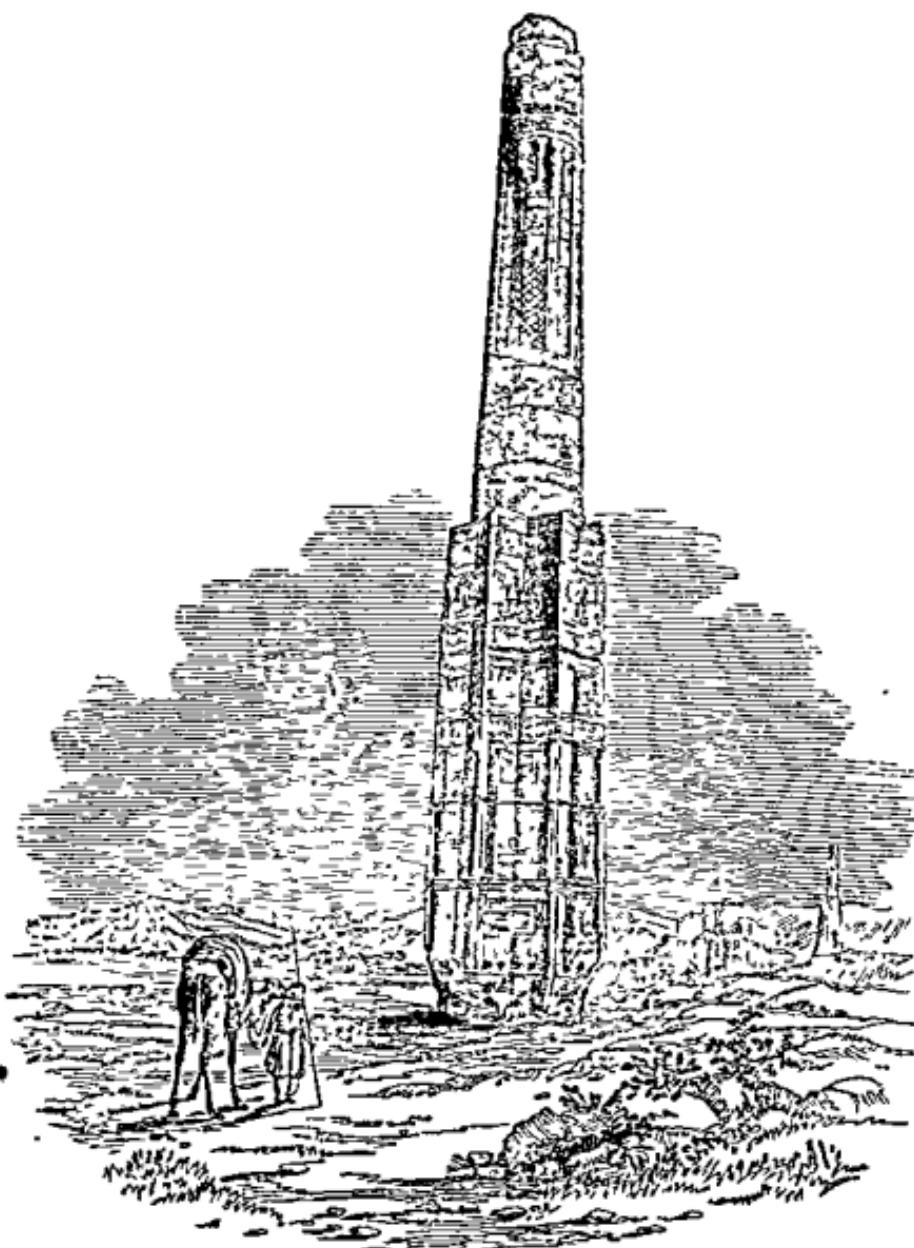
## LIST OF THE PATHAN SULTANS OF HINDUSTAN

| NO | DATE OF<br>ACCESSION<br>A.D. | INITIAL DATE<br>OF THE<br>HIJRAH YEAR<br>A.D. | NAMES OF SULTANS                                       |
|----|------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| 1  | 589                          | Jan 7, 1193                                   | Mu'izz ud din Muhammad bin Sam (1st Dynasty)           |
| 2  | 602                          | Aug 18, 1205                                  | Kutb ud din Aibek                                      |
| 3  | 607                          | June 25, 1210                                 | Aram Shah                                              |
| 4  | 607                          | " "                                           | Shams ud din Altamsh                                   |
| 5  | 633                          | Sept 16, 1235                                 | Rukn ud din Firuz Shah I                               |
| 6  | 634                          | Aug 14, 1236                                  | Sultan Rizvah                                          |
| 7  | 637                          | " 3, 1239                                     | Mu'izz ud din Bahram Shah                              |
| 8  | 639                          | July 12, 1241                                 | Ala ud din Mas'aud Shah                                |
| 9  | 644                          | May 19, 1246                                  | Násir ud din Mahmud                                    |
| 10 | 664                          | Oct 13, 1265                                  | Ghias ud din Balban                                    |
| 11 | 686                          | Feb 16, 1287                                  | Mu'izz ud din Kankubad (Dynasty)                       |
| 12 | 689                          | Jan 14, 1290                                  | Jalal ud din Firuz Shah II <i>Khilji</i> (2nd          |
| 13 | 695                          | Nov 10, 1295                                  | Rukn ud din Ibrahim                                    |
| 14 | 695                          | " "                                           | Ala ud din Muhammad Shah                               |
| 15 | 715                          | April 7, 1315                                 | Shahab ud din 'Umar                                    |
| 16 | 716                          | March 26, 1316                                | Kutb ud din Mubarak Shah I                             |
| 17 | 720                          | Feb 12, 1320                                  | Nasir ud din Khusru (Dynasty)                          |
| 18 | 720                          | " "                                           | Ghias ud din Tughlak Shah (3rd                         |
| 19 | 725                          | Dec 18, 1324                                  | Muhammad bin Tughlak                                   |
| 20 | 752                          | Feb 28, 1351                                  | Firuz Shah III <i>bin Salar Rajab</i>                  |
| 21 | 790                          | Jan 11, 1388                                  | Tughlak Shah II                                        |
| 22 | 791                          | Dec 31, 1388                                  | Abubakr Shah                                           |
| 23 | 792                          | Dec 20, 1389                                  | Muhammad Shah bin Firuz Shah                           |
| 24 | 795                          | Nov 17, 1392                                  | Sikandar Shah (Timur, 800)                             |
| 25 | 795                          | " "                                           | Mahmud Shah bin Muhammad Shah                          |
| 26 | 797                          | Oct 27, 1394                                  | Nusrat Shah, <i>Interregnum</i> , Mahmud restored, 802 |
| 27 | 815                          | April 13, 1412                                | Daulat Khan Lodi                                       |
| 28 | 817                          | March 23, 1414                                | Khizr Khan <i>Syud</i> (4th Dynasty)                   |
| 29 | 824                          | Jan 6, 1421                                   | Mu'izz ud din Mubarak Shah II                          |
| 30 | 837                          | Aug 18, 1433                                  | Muhammad Shah bin Farid Shah                           |
| 31 | 847                          | May 1, 1443                                   | 'Alam Shah                                             |
| 32 | 855                          | Feb 3, 1451                                   | Bahlol Lodi (5th Dynasty)                              |
| 33 | 894                          | Dec 5, 1488                                   | Sikandar bin Bahlol                                    |
| 34 | 923                          | Jan 24, 1517                                  | Ibrahim bin Sikandar (Babur, 932 A.D.)                 |
| 35 | 937                          | Aug 25, 1530                                  | Muhammad Humayun, <i>Mughal</i>                        |
| 36 | 947                          | May 8, 1540                                   | Farid ud din Shir Shah, <i>Afghán</i>                  |
| 37 | 952                          | March 15, 1545                                | Islam Shah                                             |
| 38 | 960                          | Dec 18, 1552                                  | Muhammad 'Adil Shah                                    |
| 39 | 961                          | Dec 7, 1553                                   | Ibrahim Sur [962 A.D.]                                 |
| 40 | 962                          | Nov 26, 1554                                  | Sikandar Shah (Humayun, restored)                      |

INTRODUCTORY LIST OF THE RULERS AND KINGS  
OF BENGAL

| NO | DATE OF<br>ACCESSION<br>A.D. | INITIAL DATE<br>OF THE<br>HIJRAH YEAR,<br>A.D. | NAMES OF RULERS AND KINGS                                                                   |
|----|------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1  | 600                          | Sept 10, 1203                                  | <i>Muhammad Bakhtiar Khilji</i>                                                             |
| 2  | 602                          | Aug 18, 1205                                   | 'Izz ud dín Muhammad Shíráz Khilji                                                          |
| 3  | 605                          | July 16, 1208                                  | 'Alá ud dín 'Alí Mardan, <i>Khilji</i>                                                      |
| 4  | 608                          | June 15, 1211                                  | Husam ud dín 'Awz Khilji ( <i>Sultán Ghafas ud dín</i> )                                    |
| 5  | 624                          | Dec 22, 1226                                   | Nasir ud dín <i>Mahmud</i> , bin <i>Sultan Altamsh</i> (Coin, No 60)                        |
| 6  | 627                          | Nov 20, 1229                                   | 'Alá ud dín Janí                                                                            |
| 7  | "                            | "                                              | Saif ud dín Aibek, <i>Yughán Tat</i>                                                        |
| 8  | 631                          | Oct 7, 1233                                    | 'Izz ud dín Tughral, } <i>Rizáyah</i> , 634-7<br>Tughan Khán }                              |
| 9  | 642                          | June 9, 1244                                   | Kamr ud dín <i>Tamar Khan</i> , Kíran                                                       |
| 10 | "                            | " "                                            | Ilktíár ud dín, <i>Yuzbeg</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>Tughral Khan</i>                              |
| 11 | 656                          | Jan 8, 1258                                    | Jalál ud dín <i>Mas'aud Muluk Jant</i>                                                      |
| 12 | 657                          | Dec 29, 1258                                   | 'Izz ud dín <i>Balban</i> , <sup>2</sup> <i>U begi</i>                                      |
| 13 | "                            | " "                                            | Taj ud dín <i>Arslán Khan</i> , <i>Sanjar</i> , <i>Khwarizm</i>                             |
| 14 | 659                          | Dec 6, 1260                                    | <i>Muhammad Arslán Khán</i> , <i>Tatar Khán</i>                                             |
| 15 | 676,?                        |                                                | <i>Sultan Maghís</i> ud dín <i>Tughral</i>                                                  |
| 16 | 681                          | April 11, 1282                                 | <i>Bughra Khán</i> , <i>Násir</i> ud dín <i>Mahmud</i> , second son of <i>Sultan Balban</i> |
| 17 | 691                          | Dec 24, 1291                                   | Rukn ud dín <i>Kai Káüs</i>                                                                 |
| 18 | 702                          | Aug 26, 1302                                   | Shams ud dín <i>Firuz Sháh</i> (Reigned in Lakhnáti till 722)                               |
| 19 | ?                            |                                                | <i>Shaháb</i> ud dín <i>Bughrah Sháh</i>                                                    |
| 20 | 710                          | May 31, 1310                                   | <i>Ghíz-ud dín Bahádur Sháh</i>                                                             |
| 21 | 733                          | Sept 22, 1332                                  | <i>Muhammad bin Tughlak</i>                                                                 |
| 22 | 737                          | Aug 10, 1336                                   | Fákr ud dín <i>Mubdrak Sháh</i>                                                             |
| 23 | 742                          | June 17, 1341                                  | 'Alá ud dín <i>'Alí Sháh</i>                                                                |
| 24 | 751                          | March 11, 1350                                 | Ikhtíár ud dín <i>Ghdzí Sháh</i>                                                            |

<sup>1,2</sup> These contrasts in the orthography follow the Persian text of *Minháj us Sáj* who seems to have designed to mark a difference in the pronunciation, but I should be unwilling to rely upon any such chance discriminations, in a text so obviously at the mercy of ignorant Oriental copyists.



THE MINARET OF MAS'UD III., A.H. 492-508 (A.D. 1099-1114), AT GHAZNI,<sup>1</sup>  
from a Sketch by G. J. Vigne, Esq.  
*Fergusson's Handbook of Architecture*, vol. i. p. 415.

### FIRST KING (A.H. 589-602; A.D. 1193-1205).

The man who, by the force of his own energy, or that which he imparted to his generals, was enabled to change

<sup>1</sup> INSCRIPTION ON THE MINARET. (From *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*.)  
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم امر السلطان الاعظم ملك الاسلام اعلام الملة

the destinies of India towards the close of the twelfth century A.D., came of a royal house, dating from an obscure principality in the mountains south-east of Herát. The great Mahmud of Ghaznī, some two centuries previously, had penetrated frequently and by varied routes into the rich plains of India, his aim, with but scant affectation of the Muslim cry of a "holy war," was in truth mere plunder, and with this he returned plentifully gratified to his northern capital.

The later scions of the dynasty of Subuktagin, driven out of Ghaznī on its sack by 'Ala ud dīn Husain Jahānsōz in A.H. 550, retired to Lahor, and had already, in effect, become domesticated Indian sovereigns, so that as Mu'izz ud dīn pressed down and around them, the occupation of the more advanced provinces of Hindustān followed as a natural sequence. *Mu'izz-ud dīn* Muhammad bīn Sām, or *Shahab ud-dīn*, as he was called in his youth, otherwise known as Muhammad Ghori, the founder of the Pathān dynasty of Dehli, is first noticed in history on the occasion of his nomination, in conjunction with his elder brother, Ghiās ud dīn, to the charge of a province of Ghor, by his uncle, the notorious 'Ala ud dīn Husain Jahānsōz. After the accession of Ghiās ud dīn to the throne of Ghor, in 558 A.H., Mu'izz ud dīn, acting as his general, subdued portions of Khorāsān, and, on the conquest of Ghaznī, in 569, he was nominated

والدولة أبو سعد مسعود بن طر الدولة المحمودي أبو ابراهيم نصر  
الدين امر المؤمن يمس المملكة امس الملة مالك رفاب الامم سلطان  
المكرم الحفاف مولي ملوك العرف والعلم حلد الله تعالى ملكه وسلطانه  
وافاص على العلم بره واحسانه عفر الله له ولوالديه وتحميم المسلمين

by his Suzerain brother to the government of that country. From this time his incursions into India commenced in 571 he conquered Multán, in 574 he experienced a sanguinary defeat in an expedition against the prince of Nahrwála, next, Khusrú Malik, the last of the Ghaznavis, was assailed, and at length, in 582, captured by stratagem. In 587, in a more extended expedition into Hindustán, Muhammad Ghori was totally routed on the memorable field of Thaneswar by the Chohán leader, Prithví Rája of Ajmír. After a year's repose the disgrace of this defeat still rankling within him, he on the self same battle ground again encountered his former adversary, now supported by the whole force of the country, the confederated armies of one hundred and fifty princes. This time fortune favoured the Ghoris, and a hard-fought field terminated in the total discomfiture of the Indian host. By this single victory the Muhammadans may be said to have become the virtual masters of Hindustán. The ulterior measures for the subjugation of the country were of speedy accomplishment, and most of the later additions to

the Indian empire of Muhammad Ghori were perfected by his quondam slave, subsequent representative in Hindustán, and eventual successor on the throne of Dehli, Kutb ud dín Arbék Ghías ud dín, who had long retained little beyond the title of a king, died in 599 A.H., and shortly afterwards Mu'izz ud dín was installed in form. An unsuccessful attempt at conquest in the north, in itself attended by most disastrous results, was succeeded by the revolt of the governors of Ghazní and Multán this outbreak however, was soon suppressed. In the month of Sh'abán, A.H. 602,<sup>1</sup> Muham-

سوم رہ شعاع سال ششہ دو ساد در رہ سرس سرل دسکت  
And the *Ma'l* of Damik became a proverb in the land.—Tabakát-i Násiri  
p. 194

that is extended to the conqueror of India. It will be observed from the coins which follow that, on the death of his brother, Muizz ud-din himself adopted the superlative <sup>الْأَعْظَمْ</sup> <sup>الْأَكْبَرْ</sup>

3a *Silver* Weight 133 grs Similar coin Col Guthrie

No 4 (No 3 Plate I)

*Silver* Weight 59 4 grs Square areas A H 598 Col Guthrie

Reverse

Obverse

الله أكابر

السلطان الظاهر

محمد رسول الله

مغر الدنار

الناصر لدين الله

الدنار أو المطر

نصر المؤمن

محمد بن سام

Margins illegible

The above coins are in effect merely introductory to the Dehli series proper, emanating from the Imperial mint of the first occupying Muhammadan conqueror of India, they in some degree formed the models upon which the phraseology of the legends of the new currency was based, though, it will be seen, that they in no degree affected the system of weights or values obtaining in the northern provinces of India. Indeed, the old issues of "Dehlíwálas" composed of a mixture of copper and silver, retained their place throughout the land, and were imitated and adopted with altered legends, by Altamsh and his feudatories Kubáchah of Sind, and others, and it is not until the year 630 A H that any silver pieces of the new empire make their appearance (No 28 *infra*), and then their standard of weight equally follows the Indian system.

No 5 (No 4, Plate I )  
 Mixed silver and copper 49 grs Rare (Sind Mint)  
*Obv* — سام بن محمد بن اعظم  
*Rev* — Horseman in outline (conventionally styled *Tughra* تughra), with the *Hindi* legend स्त्री हमीर. *Sri Hammirah*

No 6 (No 5, Plate I )  
 Mixed silver and copper Weight, 49 grs Rare  
*Obv* — Same as No 5  
*Rev* — Rude figure of a cavalier, with lance at the charge

No 7 (No 6, Plate I )  
 Silver (impure) 46 grs (Ghor Mint)  
*Obv* — سام بن محمد بن اعظم ابو المظفر  
*Rev* — Rude representation of a horseman, with lance at the charge, but the contrast is marked in the adherence to the statuesque as opposed to the interlaced combination of letters and material forms affected in Muhammadan *Tughra*

No 8 (No 7, Plate I )  
 Silver and copper (Lahor Mint)  
*Obv* — سام بن محمد بن اعظم ابو الدسا والدين  
*Rev* — \*

No 9 (No 8, Plate I )  
 Silver and copper 46 grs (Lahor Mint)  
*Obv* — سام بن محمد بن اعظم ابو الدسا والدين  
*Rev* — ابو المظفر محمد بن سام

No 10 (No 9, Plate I )  
 Silver and copper 49 grs (Dchli Mint)  
*Obv* — سام بن محمد بن اعظم Sri Mahamad Sdme  
*Rev* — स्त्री हमीर. *Sri Hammirah*

No 11 Silver and copper Weight, 48 grs (Sind Mint) Similar Hindī legends, both obverse and reverse, to No 10 The device of the Horseman follows the same tracings as the figure on No 5, and the forms of the letters are nearly identical, approximating closely to the style in use on the coins of Kubachah

No 12 Silver and copper Weight, 45 grs New type E I Collection (Peshawar Mint)

*Obv* — Bull in Tughra, greatly distorted

د سامہ *Mahamad Same*

*Rev* — Horseman, well defined Similar in design to No 4, Plate I

Legend — स्त्री हमीर *Sri Hammirah*

In a line with the spear, reading upwards, under the horse, in delicate Persian letters, is to be seen the word پرشور *Parshór* (Peshawar) On the horse's quarter may be read the letters جلد *Jald* (See Prinsep's Essays, pl xxv fig 20)

No 13 (No 10, Plate I)

Silver and copper 46 grs (Gwalior Mint)

*Obv* — مہماد سامہ *Mahamad Sám*

*Rev* — Figure of the Horseman greatly debased No legend\*

No 14 Silver and copper Weight, 38 grs My cabinet

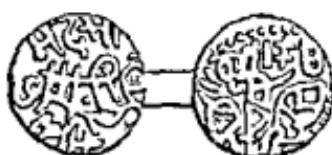
*Obv* — سامہ مہماد میرالدین \* \*

*Rev* — A rude figure of a horse

Similar to those depicted in Prinsep's Essays, pl xxv figs 8-13, Ariana Antiqua, pl xix fig 14, and pl xx fig 6

<sup>1</sup> The reading of Parshór is confirmed by later specimens from the mints of Alâ ud din Muhammad, Khudri mī who was critical in his geography, inserting the names of his mints in all sorts of odd corners wherever space was to be found (imitating Ilduz) on the side of the Bull, and in the same place —Journ R.A.S. xii. pp 205, 206 See also Elliot's *Historians*, i 47, and ii. 397

I do not propose to review in any detail the general series of Muhammad Ghori's Indian coinages, but there is a single specimen which I am anxious to notice on account of the unusual, indeed unique, nature of its legends, though I have frankly to confess that the imperfect and obscured reverse epigraph, in which is involved the whole question of novelty, leaves a doubt as to the finality of any opinion that may now be pronounced.<sup>1</sup> The appearance of the joint names of Muhammad bin Sám and Prithví Rája on one and the same coin is certainly startling, but there is nothing in the fact that need militate against local probabilities. We find that "the son of Rai Pitura, who had been advanced under the protection of the sublime court," was left in charge of Ajmír,<sup>2</sup> in which case a numismatic confession of fealty would be quite appropriate, or this coinage may even have been struck in his name, under authority at head-quarters, for special circulation in his government. Indeed, this particular piece has, in effect, more the appearance of Dehli Mint art than of Ajmír manipulation. Many other explanations of the association might be given, but that it is useless to enlarge upon such imperfect data; and I only publish this curious piece that attention may be drawn to the possible existence of similar specimens in other imperfectly examined collections.



<sup>1</sup> General Cunningham has also examined this coin at my request, and, while expressing surprise at the combination of names, does not at all contest the obvious reading of the letters still visible on the coin.

<sup>2</sup> Taj-ul-Máisar, Elliot's Historians, II. pp. 216, 219, 220, 226. Ted, II. 451.

No 15 Silver and Copper Weight, 36 grs (My cabinet) Unique

Horseman

Bull

—पृथ्वी—

स्त्री महमद साम

Prithvi

Sri Mahamad Sam

The Indian coinages of Muhammad bin Sám were, as may be seen, avowedly adaptive, and introductory to the more fixed and systematized mintages of his successors. One of these assimilated issues of unusual historical interest consists of the Gold Money put forth, in close mechanical identity of metal, symbols and style of writing, in the name of the Muslim conqueror, immediately on the fall of Jai Chand the last of the Rahtors of Kanauj<sup>1</sup> in A D 1194. A suggestive fact connected with this attempt to maintain the supply of the local currency, and simultaneously to proclaim the victor's success, a convenient measure for utilizing plunder rather affected under the Sword of Islám is that so many of these pieces found their way to the home of the invaders, and so few remained to aid the commerce of the indigenes<sup>2</sup>.

The intermediate coin (No 17) of Prithvi (Varmma) Deva, a contemporary of Govinda s (No 16, indicates that much of the dominion of the Rahtors had already passed away from them, though the successful Chandel and his adversary were both destined shortly to fall before the assaults of an alien race.

<sup>1</sup> He is called Jai Chand of Benares by the Táj al Mafásir — Elliot, II 223 300. So also Minbáj p 140 text. The Bard Chand also mentions that the Raja of Kási was a feudatory of Kanauj (Tod II 456). The Rahtor capital was latterly removed to Bari, east of the Ganges.

<sup>2</sup> Only one of these coins of Muhammad bin Sám seems to have fallen to the share of James Prinsep's numerous contributors (Essays I 289) who found the older issues common enough. The twenty six specimens of the conqueror's coinage now noted seem all to have been obtained by Masson in Afghanistan.

The modifications the name and titles of Muhammad bin Sám undergo in the contrasted specimens are curious, and may be supposed to indicate the several stages of recent victory,<sup>1</sup> and more fixed occupation and administration of the kingdom by his officials.

## KANAUJ COINS.

Govinda Chandra, A.D. 1120-1144.<sup>2</sup>

No. 16. Gold. (Prinsep, pl. xxiv. fig. 2; Ariana Antiqua, xx. 22; and H. H. Wilson, Asiatic Researches, xviii.)

*Obverse*—The Goddess *Lakshmi* seated. The figure holding the cornucopia is imitated from the earliest types of the Gupta coinage (Prinsep's Essays, Pl. xxiii. 18, 19, etc.).

*Reverse*—Legend in three lines—

श्री महोविंद चंद्रदेव ॥

*Sri mad Govinda Chandra Deva.*

Prithvi (Varma) Deva Chándel Rája of Mahoba, etc<sup>3</sup> (A.D. 1125-1130).

No. 17. Gold. (Prinsep's Essays, i. 292.) Common.

*Obverse* as usual.

*Reverse*—

श्री मत्पृथ्वी देव

*Sri Mat Prithvi Deva.*

<sup>1</sup> The *Táj-ul-Máásir* has a record of this mintage, "and the face of the dinár and the diram was adorned with the name and titles" of the king.—Elliot, ii. 223.

<sup>2</sup> Prinsep, Useful Tables, p. 258.

<sup>3</sup> See Gen. Cunningham's List, quoted below, p. 65.

العرف والعلم سلطان السلاطين في العالم عاصي الديبا والديين معر  
 الاسلام والمسلمين مسي العدل في العالمين علاً الدولة الفاهره فلك  
 الملة الفاهره حلال الامة الفاهره شهاب الحلافة باسط الاحسان و  
 الرفاه في الشعلين طل الله في الحافقين الحامى لبلاد الله الراعي لعاد  
 الله محرر ممالك الديبا ومتصر كلمة الله العلا ابو المطر محمد بن  
 سام قسيم امير المؤمنين حمل الله ملكه

B The second band or belt of Inscriptions (counting from the base-  
 ment upwards) is also filled in with a nearly similar enumeration  
 of the titles of Muhammad bin Sám, concluding, however, with  
 the hitherto novel designation of سکدر الثاني .

Inscriptions of *Kutb ud-din Aibeg.*

C The second line of the Inscription under the arch of the eastern  
 entrance to the Kutb Mosque, at Dehli, dated A.H. 587<sup>1</sup>=1191 A.D

ایں حصاررا فتح کرد و این مسجد جامع را به ساحت تاریخ ف  
 شور سه سع و ثمایس و حمسیاہ امر اسیسا لارا جل کسر قط

<sup>1</sup> General Cunningham, on his last visit to Dehli in 1862, critically examined this inscription with a binocular, and was inclined to think that Syud Ahmad had been in error in reading this date as 587 instead of 589 (Arch. Report, p. 28). As I have, I believe, succeeded in satisfying General Cunningham that 587 is the correct sculptured date, I should not have entered further into the question, were it not for the historical importance of the numbers in question. I stated with some confidence in my edition of Prinsep's Essays (Vol. 1, p. 326) that the true date in this epigraph was 587 A.H., and my justification for so positive an assertion was that I had, in January, 1855 very carefully studied the original, even to the extent of assuring myself of the bearing of every line and letter, by means of a scaffolding erected for the purpose, which was necessary, as the inscription was high up, and, moreover, obscured ordinarily by the arch under and within which it was placed. In this examination I took eye tracings and paper impressions

الدوله و الدین امیراً مرا ای نک سلطانی اعززالله اصارة و بیست و  
هفت آلت نخانه کی [sic] در هر نخانه دو بار هزار داره از دلواه  
صرف شده بود درین مسجد نکارسته شده است  
حدای عز و جل بران سده رحمت کناد هر که بر {continuation in the corner department  
نیت نای حیرت نای ایمان کوید

of all such parts as presented any difficulties, and this enabled me to correct, without hesitation, Syud Ahmad's reading of

"هفت آلت نخانه مرکمی در هر نخانه دو یاده از"

into the text given above—but the date was to my apprehension so obvious, that I did not either copy or take a rubbing of the words. However, to set the question definitely at rest, I have now sent out to Dehli, and have had the doubtful passage examined anew by a most competent authority, and the reply received is that there is *no doubt* that the unit is سع and not سبع, the points are of but little consequence, the position of the elongated up stroke settles the question, in these cases, and as for the "two dots," even supposing them to exist, the dots are so scattered at hazard in these legends that but little reliance could be placed upon their referring more directly to سبع than to the penultimate letter of شمايسن, which is immediately over it. Ibn Batutah, during his residence at the Court of Dehli (A.H. 734-743), read the date on the original monument as 584 A.H. (French edition, iii. pp. 146, 161), but the mistake of substituting اربع for سع, in the decipherment of the intertwined *tughra* writing, would readily occur, even if the error is not due to the still more probable source of the careless copying of his autograph MS.

As regards the historical evidence to the date of 587 A.H. for the capture of Dehli by the Muslims, it is complete and consistent in the best authorities. Hasan Rizami, a so to say contemporary, places the event in 587 (Elliot, ii. p. 216), and Miskaj us Siraj repeats in various forms, while treating of the life of Albeg, the confirmation of the same date (Elliot ii. p. 300, Calcutta text, pp. 139, and at p. 141, in noticing Kutb ud din's death in 607 A.H., it expressly adds, "from the first conquest of Dehli (ارول دھلی to this time 20 years") The discrepancy which it has been attempted clumsily to correct in some versions of the Persian text seems to have arisen out of the faulty narrative of the life of Muizz ud din himself (Calcutta text, p. 120 and note, p. 139).

D Inscription over the northern entrance to the Mosque, dated  
A.H. 592 = 1195-6 A.D.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم بدعوا إلى دار السلام و يهدى من يشاء إلى  
صراط المستقى (Kurán, x. 26) في شهر سه اثنى و تسعين حرث هدة  
العمرارة تعالى امر السلطان المعظم معز الدين محمد بن سام  
باصر امير المؤمنين

E Date on the Centre Gateway of the Mosque, A.H. 594 = A.D. 1197-8.

تاریخ العشرين من ذی القعده سه اربع و تسعین و خمس مائیه

I consider that all these inscriptions were executed under the direct auspices of Kutb-ud-dín Aibeg, though he emblazons his own name and title in a single and special instance. There is a further record of his active participation in the erection of these buildings on the defaced lower band of the Minár, immediately over the foundation course, where his recognized titles of *امیر الاسپهار الاجل* are still legible. I may remark, incidentally, with reference to the much-debated question, as to the assumed Hindú origin or the secondary adaptation by the Muhammadans of the partially prepared Kutb *مینار*, that General Cunningham's arguments, tending to ~~prove~~ the independent inception of the design by *Kutb-ud-dín Aibeg* are to my mind conclusive,<sup>2</sup> and this determination asserts itself altogether apart from the internal evidence of the inscriptions themselves; for, by

importance of

<sup>2</sup> *Asr-us-Sunnah*, vol. of Prinsep's *Archæological Survey of India*, 1855, p. 587 A.H., and my <sup>3</sup> Syud that I <sup>4</sup> *examined*, in January, 1855, very <sup>5</sup> *cautious* in these matters, restores, with some extent of assuring myself of the bearings, thus *امیر الاسپهار* <sup>6</sup> *scaffolding* erected for the purpose, wh. high up, and, moreover, obscured ordinary <sup>7</sup> *it was placed*. In this examination I took <sup>8</sup> pp. 29, 30, 31.

parity of reasoning—if the Minar had been a mere adaptation of Rai Pithora's one storied building—would not a similar boast have decorated its largely sculptured walls to that so triumphantly engraved on the mosque of the same period, where the “twenty-seven Idol temples,” the very pillars of which are seen in their varied ornamentation around the square of the court-yard, are monumentally recorded as having contributed to the erection of the dominating religious edifice of the Conqueror's faith?

The celebrated mosque at Ajmir, which, like the edifice at the Kutb, was avowedly built of the materials contributed by the local idol temples,<sup>1</sup> also bears an epigraph dated during the reign of Mu'izz ud din Muhammad bin Sam. Colonel Lees has propounded a translation<sup>2</sup> of this inscription, to the following effect—

“(This Masjid was built) during the guardianship of Akbar, the son of Ahmad (by the help of God), the creator, the everlasting, in the month of Zi Hijjah, five hundred and ninety six”—General Cunningham, Archaeological Report, 1861 5, p 9

### *Taj ud din Ilduz*

Closely connected with the imperial coinages of Mu'izz-ud din Muhammad bin Sam are the pieces struck by his Lieutenant *Ilduz*,<sup>3</sup> comprehending the various series in copper, silver, or gold, modified in their legends from time to time according to the relative positions of the master and the trusted slave, who had so won upon his lord's favour that the latter, before his death, had designed to

<sup>1</sup> At Ajmir the Sultan “destroyed the pillars and foundations of the idol temples and built in their stead mosques and colleges”—*Taj ul Maasir* Elliot, n 215

<sup>2</sup> The text is not appended.

<sup>3</sup> Properly *Alz yildz*, a star. Elphinstone has ‘Elduz’

appoint him his successor in Ghazní<sup>1</sup> The earliest coins bearing the name of Ilduz, are those apparently struck at his original seat of government, *Karmán*, a most important and vital position on the main line of communication between Ghazní and the Indus, on the Bungush route<sup>2</sup> On

<sup>1</sup> *Minháj us Siráj* says the Sultán gave him a شانہ سوار "a black ensign," در حاطرش آں مود که ولی عبد عرس ند ار سلطان او ناشد and

چون سلطان عاری شادیت یافت T N Calcutta Text, 133 etc

<sup>2</sup> The approximate position of this place is Lat 33° 40, Long 70° 20 A village of the name still exists to mark the ancient site Ibn Athir refers to it as و شگاں قوم یتال لم انعوں, کرمان مديۃ س عربہ ولارور Other notices are to be found in Yákut's *Mushtarak*, *sub voc.*, Elphinstone's *Cabool*, i. 420, ii. 421 (362) H T Prinsep *Journ. As Soc Bengal*, xi. 553, Bâber's *Memoirs*, pp 150-158, Briggs's *Ferishtah*, i. 200, Price, *Muhammadan Hist.* ii. 309, Masson, *Baluchistán*, etc i. 114, Woods *Oxus*, 151, Elliot's *Historians*, ii. 221, 551

Our knowledge of the geography of this part of the country has been largely increased of late by Major Lumsden's "Mission to Kandahár" (in 1858) His party pursued the direct route from Kohát towards Ghazni as far as Piwar But little information is given in the report with regard to the particular place now called "Kirmán," which appears to be situated off the main line of communication, in a long *darrah* or glen, extending for 15 miles to the W N W between two bold spurs parallel to the general run of the "Safid Loh range" The true dominating position of the *kr* of India seems to have been the fort of *Kurram*, *Koorum*, or *Kurum*, as it is variously written, or *Kurm*, as it is pronounced, and here arises a minor question of orthography, and a doubt whether, amid all these various renderings of the name from oral data, the correct etymology is not to be found in the extant "Kurram" and the plural *Kurramdn* [کرمان] with the double Pushtí *r*, as the term for the whole division, instead of the "Kirmán," which is occasionally made use of We have the generic *Kurram* river for the main stream, and "a tributary known as the *Kurramana*, from the Arakai mountain (p 50), also the district "Kurram *khás*" The omission of the short vowels in Semitic writing and the imperfection of the system of duplicating consonants, has always caused an uncertainty in the definition of geographical terms, but all the materials in

these moneys he styles himself simply <sup>عَدْ يَلْدَر</sup><sup>۱</sup>. On his subsequent issues, when in charge of the metropolis of Ghazní, he accommodates his titles to <sup>عَدْ وَمَوْلَاهُ الْدِيَارِ وَالدِّينِ يَلْدَرُ السُّلْطَانِيِّ</sup>

the present case go to prove that the surviving local pronunciation should rule in determining the question. On the other hand, the name of the Persian province of *Kirmān*, under which general denominational head this place is classed by the Arab geographers, is itself unsettled and indeterminate, the *كَرْمَن* *Kirmān* كِرْمَن "a worm," of the Sanskrit interpreters, is altogether against the Greek *Kappavia*, or the Latin *Carmassia*, moreover, our latest commentators on the Arabic form of *كَرْمَل* cannot pronounce decisively whether it should be transliterated as *Kerman* or *Kirman* (Dict. Geogr. de la Perse C B de Maynard Paris, 1861). The Pehlvi orthography of the official Sassanian coins is *کَرْمَن*, where the simple absence of the expressed *e* presupposes the short *a*. The fort of *Kurram*, situated in about  $30^{\circ} 50'$ — $70^{\circ} 10'$ , some 118 miles by road from Kohāt (p. 61), standing at an estimated height of 6,000 feet above the sea, is described by Major Lumsden "as the residence of the local governor. It is a square mud enclosure, with faces about 100 yards long, having *burjes*, or round towers, at the angles and in the centre of each face. There is but one gateway, towards the west, and around the interior of the walls are built quarters for the garrison and a *bazar*, while a second square, with faces parallel to those of the exterior work, forms a citadel, containing the magazines and the quarters of the commandant, a covered way, and ditch which can be made wet or dry at pleasure, runs all round the works, the latter is crossed by a drawbridge, . . . the thickness of the walls is not such as to resist artillery, although ample to present an insurmountable obstacle to any ordinary irregular Afghan force" (p. 61). The direct route to *Kurman* from Ghazní is variously stated by the Medieval Geographers at three or four days march. We have no account of the intermediate stages, or the nature of the passes, but, even assuming it at four days journey, the marching must have been good. Lumsden's map would make the distance, as the crow flies about 82 miles.

<sup>1</sup> J.R.A.S. ix. 380, No 9 (with the *Karmān* Bull reverse) A binominal coin, without the usual figured device, with ornamental Kufic letters (Ariana Antiqua, pl. xi fig. 18), shows an advance upon this unpretentious legend to *عَدْ الْمَلِكِ الْمُطَمَّنِ تَاجِ الدِّيَارِ*. Similar titles, but omitting the preliminary *عَدْ*, and in his own sole name, may be seen in No 8, J.R.A.S. ix. 380. These last coins have the Horseman reverse.

but in either case reserving the place of honour for his sovereign's laudatory designations (No 23). There are several varieties of these mintages,<sup>1</sup> but the most interesting phase in the history of these viceregal issues, is the production of honorary posthumous *medals* (for such their unusual weight implies them to be), in the *sole* name of the "Martyred" Monarch some considerable interval after his death (Nos 20 and 21),<sup>2</sup> followed by Ilduz's first advance towards virtual independence, still associated with the recognition of the *السلطان الشهيد*, the *Martyred Sultan*, but marked by the assumption, in his own right, of the titles of *السلطان المظالم* and *سلطان الشرق*, "The great Sultan, Sultan of the East" (No 23). But the more direct bearing of the monetary arrangements of Ilduz upon the Dehli series with which we are chiefly concerned commences when, having been driven out of Ghazni by 'Alá ud dín Muhammad Khwárezm Shah, and attempting to establish himself on Indian soil, he fell readily into the manners and customs of the country, and coined *Dehli rásas*, both in metallic alloy and typical design, assimilated to the prevailing local currencies of mixed silver and copper, whose singular comprehensive range is even now but imperfectly determined. The legends on this particular class of money, though frequently published, have as yet been only imperfectly interpreted.<sup>3</sup> They may, however, be safely transcribed as now printed (under No 24).

<sup>1</sup> J.R.A.S. ix p 39 gold, No 5 xvii. p 197 silver No 42

<sup>2</sup> The western tradition speaks of a reserve on the part of the *Ulamd*, to recognize a slave king but home testimony disposes of this fiction in the affirmation of the immediate manumission and recognition of Ilduz by Mahmud, the head of the family and direct heir of Muhammad bin Sám (T. A. p 134).

<sup>3</sup> Professor Wilson suggested the reading of "Balwan, A.A., p 433" but the tenor of the legend and the mere use of *Abul Fath*, the special attribute of

No. 20. Gold. Weight, 320 grs. Size 10. Unique in this *medal* form. B.M. Ghazni, A.H. 603.



لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ

السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ

مُحَمَّدُ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ

مَعْزُ الدُّنْبِيَّا

النَّاصِرُ لِدِينِ اللَّهِ

الْدِينُ أَبُو الْمُرْظَفِرِ

أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِيْنِ

مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ سَامِ

خَرْبُ هَذَا الدِّيْنَارِ بِبَلْدَةِ

Margin—in four divisions—  
containing portions of Surah  
Ixi. 9. Kurán.

خَرْبَةِ فِي شَبُورْسَنَهِ ثَاثَ وَسَمَاءَهِ

No. 21. Gold. Weight, 96 grs. Size 7. Ordinary current form of coin, but with identical legends. B.M. Ghazni, A.H. 603. J.R.A.S. xvii. 196.

No. 21a (No. 4, p. 14). Silver coins similar to No. 3, pl. i., dated A.H. 604 A.H. Col. Guthrie.

the elder Muhammad bin Sam, would alone determine the association of the coins with the Ghori series; the final *ي* of *يَلْدَزٌ*, which is frequently omitted, and ordinarily distorted even when defined, is quite obvious on some of the more perfect coins in the British Museum.

No 22 Gold Weight 61 grs Unique E I Collection  
Ghazal, A II?

### Central Area

### Full Surface

السلطان

## السلطان المعظم

سلطان الشرق ناج

س سام

## الدسا والدنس

Margin,  $= 5\%$

پلدر

شہر

Abu Rihán, in his *Kanún*, specially designates Ghazní as  
غرس دار ملکت المشرق

No 23 *Silver* Weight, 108 5 grs Ghazni, A.D. 610  
Col Guthrie



Small square area with a broad margin

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ

محمد رسول الله

اللهم لك الصلاة

أبي المؤمن

## سُدُّ و مُوَلَّاتِ الدَّسَادِ—Margin

الدوس يلدر السلطانى

شہرو نسہ تیشر و سمایہ

No. 24. Silver and Copper Weight, 55 grs.

The Chohán Horseman in outline, with Ilduz's *special* symbol, "a star," below the horse.

Legend स्त्रीहस्तीरः

For engravings, see Prinsep's Essays, xxvi. 45, and Ariana Antiqua, xx. 9.

السلطان  
السلطان  
أبوالفتح يلدوز  
السلطان

Before taking leave of the Ghori connexion with India, it is as well to complete the series by a casual notice of the coins of Mahmúd bin Ghias-ud-dín Muhammad bin Sám, who succeeded on his father's death (in A.H. 599), under the appointment of his uncle, Mu'izz-ud-dín, to the charge of the provinces of Bust, Furrah, and Isfarar. On the great Sultán's assassination in A.H. 602, Mahmúd became the virtual head of the house, and nominally supreme over all the whole array of family slaves, many of whom had now become most powerful and effectively independent rulers in the various sections of the empire.

The general type of execution of these pieces, their die sequence following the coins of Mu'izz-ud-dín (No. 5, *ante*), and the Hindi legends, alike confine them to Indian soil, though it is difficult to fix them to any special locality. The letters of the Sanskrit title follow the models of the Sindí or Punjábi alphabets in the reversal of the lower limb of the ह and the open top of the म. But whether these coins were issued by Ilduz, or by local governors opposed to his pretensions on Muhammad Ghori's death, or even, as is not impossible, minted by Kutb-ud-dín himself, in the outlying districts of Láhor, it would be premature at present to attempt to decide.

No 25. Silver and Copper. Weight, 48 grs  
Types nearly identical with those of No. 4, pl. i

The Chohán

السلطان

Horseman

الرider

Legend—स्त्री हंसीरः

محمود بن محمد

سَمَّان

Traces of a dotted outer margin, peculiar to the Láhor coins, are visible on the better specimens. For an engraving of a coin of Mahmúd, see J R A S ix p. 177. (See also J R A S. xvii p. 198)

### SECOND KING (A.H. 602-607; A.D. 1206-1210.)<sup>1</sup>

The narrative of the life of Kutb-ud-dín has a more important bearing on the traditional history of India, during the time he continued to act in the capacity of General of Muhammad bin Sám, in the preliminary conquest of the land, than attaches to his career after he had attained the honours of kingship. From his actual accession, in 602 A.H., till his death, in 607, with the exception of his momentary conquest of Ghazní from Iluz, but little worthy of note occurred; and the eastern section of the empire remained much in the state,

<sup>1</sup> The exact orthography of the name has, up to this time, remained an open question. Minbáj says—  
وَانْكَشَتْ خَتْرَاوَارِدَسْتْ شَكْسَتْكَى دَاشْتْ بَدَانْ  
— اورَا ایک شل گتَدَى  
in Fershtah's text as to make it appear that he was called by "the name of Libuk, from having his little finger broken" (Briggs, i p 190, see also Elliot's Historians, ii. p 299, and Col N. Lees, J R. A. S. vol. vii N S p 430), whereas it is clear from the passage now given that the شل *Shel*, "disjointed," "maimed," is the epithet, and *Al beg* the real name, derived from the Túrk آی "the moon," and بَكْ "Lord." Modern Turkish *Bigh*.

to which he himself may be said to have brought it, prior to his investiture with the emblems of regal dignity by Mahmúd, the nephew and hereditary successor of Muhammad Ghori.

As I am anxious to compress these preliminary notices of the lives and fortunes of the different monarchs, I append in a tabulated form a concise outline of the more prominent events in which Kutb-ud-dín was concerned, derived chiefly from the Persian text of the work of Miháj-us Siráj, a contemporary historian :—

Appointed to Government of Kohrám (pp. 120, 139)

A.H. 587. Captures Mírat and Dehli. (A.H. 588, the overthrow of Pritivi Rája by Muhammad Ghori.)

„ 589. „ Koel. (A.H. 590. The Sultán defeats Jaichand of Benares and Kanauj.)

„ 590. „ Tangar (Biána).

„ 593. Expedition against Bhima deva of Nahrwála.

(Muhammad Bakhtíar Khiljí operates against Behár and Bengal under the auspices of Kutb-ud-dín (pp. 140, 151).)

„ 599. Capture of Kálínjar (Táj al Maásir).

„ 602. Proceeds from Dehli to Láhor (in Zil Ka'dah assumes the title of Sultán in form). Contest with Táj-ud-dín Ilduz, and capture of Ghazní, from which he retreats after 40 days' occupation (pp. 140, 134-5).

„ 607. Killed by a fall from his horse, at Láhor (Táj ul Maásir).

Kutb-ud-dín, while acting as Viceroy for Muhammad-bin-Sám, naturally issued the money of his government in the name of his master. No. 10 of this series bears signs of being the produce of the Dehli mint, and probably represents the ordinary coins produced under his auspices. The oriental reverence attaching to the right to coin militates at first sight against any inference that Aibek struck no money bearing his own superscription ; at the same time, it is possible that his experience in the realities of kingly power,

before he arrived at the nominal rank of an independent sovereign, may have rendered him careless of the mere outward forms of royalty; among which last might well be classed an issue of coin, for the sole purpose of proving the existence of the power of coining.<sup>1</sup>

But many other reasons present themselves to account for what is, up to this time, only negative evidence of such abstention, *i.e.* the absence of any single piece, in the now ample modern collections, bearing his name and title. That he was not averse within safe limits to glorify himself, the Dehli Monumental Inscriptions have already shown; that, Vassal as he was, a quasi vassalage was exacted from a fellow general in Bengal, is equally obvious.<sup>2</sup> But it is evident that a stray and subdued boast on an isolated building in distant Dehli, or an unwritten claim to allegiance from a still more distantly detached commander, whose first equipment was clearly due to his organization, were far less hazardous proceedings than the easily proven treason of coining money in his own name, specimens of which, carrying his obvious condemnation, might have reached his royal master by the very speedy transport of Indian runners.<sup>3</sup> When he himself at last ascended the

<sup>1</sup> The coin attributed by Marsden to this king is from the mint of Kutb-ud-din Mubarak.

<sup>2</sup> *Tabakat-i-Nâsir*, p. 147, *Tâj ul Maâsur*, in Elliot's *Historians*, II. pp. 332, 366. Some vague rumours of Aibek's want of faith in respect to his full allegiance to his master, seem to crop up, incidentally, in the local traditions which reached Ibn Batutah in his journeys in the land at so long an interval after the incidents involved (iii. 163).

<sup>3</sup> In Persian history, during the Sassanian period, we have a curious example of what coins could do, where it was desired falsely to prove an act of rebellion—nothing more was necessary than to stamp coin in the name of the suspected party.

The origin of this incident was as follows—Bahrâm Chobin, the general of Hormazd, the son of Naushirwan the Great, of Persia, after defeating the Turks, under Sâbah and his son, near Balkh, sent a portion (one fifth) of the immense

throne at Láhor, his circumstances do not seem to have been very prosperous; all the available wealth of India had already been concentrated at Ghazní,<sup>1</sup> and he himself was possessed of an exaggerated propensity to Eastern munificence, which earned for him the titles of *Lak Balkhsh*, "giver of Lakes,"<sup>2</sup>

booty obtained on the occasion to the king, his master, in whose mind doubts were created by hostile counsellors as to the good faith of Bahram in the matter, and harsh measures were contemplated against him, accordingly, to meet this movement, he adopted the expedient of coining money in his distant camp, bearing the name of the king's son and heir, Khusrú Parviz, who had himself no thoughts of rebellion. These pieces he forwarded in large sums to Madain, and other sections of the empire, a demonstration which directly led to suspicion in the father's mind, followed very naturally by the flight of the compromised Khusrú from the capital into Arzabúyán, and ultimately resulting, after certain intermediate phases, in the absolute dethronement of the reigning monarch.

Tabari's account of the details is as follows — Bahram Chobin —

برمود تا صد هزار درم و دیار سگه بو سام خسرو پیونز برند و به  
نارگانان داد تا نعداین برند و ندان احیاس خردند چون درم ز  
دیار در دست ب مردم پرآگده شد حر برمدن رسید بر پرور خشم  
گرفت و گفت نزدگی من در ملک طمع کرده و چون ولی عهد  
بودی چنان صریح داشتی که من نگرمه و بونست نتو رسد و سرام  
فرستادی تا سگه سام تو کرد

MS. Asiatic Society, Bengal. This is not a very first class text, but it is sufficiently intelligible. See also De Sacy, Mem. Sur Div. Antiquités de la Perse, 895, Massudi, French Edition, II 214

۱: از حواهر در حریه عرس اریکت جس الماس که بقیس ترین  
حوهدا است یک هزار پانصد من موحود است دیگر حواهرو  
بعدرا درین قیاس می ناید کرد <sup>p 125</sup>  
See also Briggs' Farshtab, I. p 187.

۲: مخشش او دمه لک لک و کشت او دمه لک لک

Tabakát-i Násiri, Calcutta text, pp 138, 149, 166

and *Hatim Sam*, "a second *Hátim Tai*," which was anything but calculated to leave him an overflowing treasury

I revert to Muhammad bin Sam's coinages in order to notice his more peculiarly Indian issues, with reference to their bearing upon the present inquiry. His conquests, it may be remarked, were always associated with an adaptation more or less complete, of the local currency, hence we find the peculiar type of the *Ghori* Horseman retained in its own locality,<sup>1</sup> the distinctive *Kurmán* outline of the Bull of Siva maintains its identity through succeeding foreign dynasties,<sup>2</sup> the *Lahor* mintages of Khusru Malik had already lost their typical emblems, and subsided into the use of simple literal legends in the Persian character,<sup>3</sup> but Ajmir, Dehli, Multán, and Sind each preserved, but little modified a *Tughra* outline of the early device of the first Brahman kings of Kabul,<sup>4</sup>—the Cavalier with the reverse of the *Sacred Bull* a type which survived in full distinctness at Bamián to the days of Alá ud dín Muhammad Khwárizmí, and in the Horseman obverse descended to Jelál-ud-dín, only to disappear under his Moghul conquerors<sup>5</sup> The Indian currencies of the four localities above mentioned varied less in the typical details than in the forms of the alphabet ruling in

<sup>1</sup> No 6 pl 1: also J R A S xvii pp 198 205

<sup>2</sup> The *Kurmán* Bull was peculiar instead of the recumbent posture of the prototype it is represented as standing up the legs having a very wooden appearance. The word *کرمان* *Kurman* is occasionally introduced on the side of the animal. J R A S xv 205

<sup>3</sup> Khusrú Sháh (A H 547 555) is the last king who uses the recumbent Bull on the *Láhor* coinage J R A S vol ix pl. iii No 153—Khusrú Malik's coins may be seen in *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xx fig 16 and J R A S ix pp 373-4

<sup>4</sup> J R A S ix. p 177 Prussep's Essays, pl. xxv vol 1 p 299, *Ariana Ant.* pl. xix figs 1 14

<sup>5</sup> J R A S ix plate p 177, No 23 and pp 381-2 J R A S xvii p 203 fig 10 illustrative plate

each division of the country, and the care and artistic effect of the die execution.

I do not propose to follow these peculiarities in any detail, but I wish to bring prominently to notice that up to the date of the death of Muhammad bin Sám (in A.H. 602) this *Dehli-wá* or *Chital* currency sufficed for all the wants of the Indian population, and that, as far as can be discovered, no money in gold or silver was coined in the newly conquered provinces, with the exception of the equally imitative and ephemeral sequence of Kanauj gold. This circumstance directly brings us again to confront the question as to whether Kutb-ud-dín Aibek really issued coin in his own name? or if he contented himself with the ample circulating media he had already, as local governor, put forth in the name of his Suzerain? Kutb-ud-dín, as has been noticed, was celebrated for his liberality and profusion, and, doubtless, much of the wealth of India had recently gone to enrich the foreign invaders, of every class, quite apart from what eventually found its way into the Imperial treasury. His fellow Sípahsálár in Bengal, Muhammad Bakhtíár Khiljí, seems to have uttered no coin; and we have seen the reserve exercised by Táj-ud-dín Ilduz in abstaining from an independent issue, even to the extent of perpetuating his master's name on the currency long after his assassination. Minháj us-Siráj, writing as a contemporary, has left us a touching little episode in reference to these very matters. He tells us that Mu'iz-ud-dín in speaking, on one occasion, of the failure of his line in default of male offspring, regarded the circumstance as a matter of merely subordinate regret, adding, "have I not thousands of children in my Túrki slaves who will succeed to my kingdoms, and after my death will continue the *Khutbah* (the public prayer) in my name?" And the author goes on to

relate how, up to the date of his own writing in A.H. 658, such respect had been shown to the great Sultán's memory<sup>1</sup>. There is no doubt that the most authoritative historical statements concur in representing that Kutb-ud dín Aibek did coin money in his own name, but the assertions come only in the conventional association of the right to coin as one of the cherished and sentimental attributes of royalty<sup>2</sup>. The removal of his court from Dehli to Láhor<sup>3</sup> may have had something to do with the non appearance of money marked

<sup>۱</sup> بر لفظ مسارت آن نادشاه [معزالدین] طاب ثراه رفت که دیگر سلاطین را یک مررید یا دو مررید ناشد مرا چندین هزار مررید است یعنی بسیار کان ترکت من که مملکت من مسراش ایشان حواهند بود و بعد از من حکم ممالکت نام من بگاه حواهند داشت و همچنان شد که بر لفظ مسارت آن نادشاه عاری رفت که بعد از وکل ممالک هندوستان را تا نعایت تحریر این سطور که سه نهان و همسن و سه نهان است مساحت نمودند و می نمایند رحایح اصل حق تعالیٰ

[وعزه]—Tabakat-i Nasiri, p. 132, C. <sup>۲</sup> itta Text

<sup>۳</sup> و مدت ملک او از اول فتح دهلی تا ندین وقت سست سال بود و عبد سلطنه او ناچتر و حبشه و سکه مدت چهار سال و کسری

بود—T. N. p. ۱۴۱.

<sup>۴</sup> و چون سلطان عاری محمد سام طاب ثراه شهادت یافت سلطان عاث الدین محمود محمد سام که برادر راده سلطان معزالدین بود قطب الدین را چتر فرمود و لقب سلطانی داد اور شهور سه ائم

by his name, and the extreme crudity of the very rare pieces of Arám Sháh,<sup>1</sup> with their exceptional Persian legends, might also be taken to imply a disused or unpracticed metropolitan mint, were it not that there is cause to assign these issues to the provincial governments of Gwalior or Kálínjar.

Kutb-ud-dín had so long effectively wielded the powers of king that the death of the Suzerain Sultán made little real change in his position; and holding the essentials, he may well have extended but slight attention to the minor demonstrations and manifestoes otherwise needed for a newly-made monarch. Had Kutb-ud-dín left behind him numismatic records in the higher metals, commemorative of his momentary occupation of Ghazní, in hostile opposition to Ilduz,<sup>2</sup> which was essentially a contest for kingship, it would have been quite consistent with probabilities; but the absence of purely Indian money bearing his stamp, under all the circumstances now stated, need cause no particular astonishment.

وستمائة از دهلي عزيمت لودور کرد و در روز شنبه هزار هم ماد ذى  
القعدة سنہ اثنین و ستمائے بر تخت سلطنت لودور جلوس فرموده

T.N. p. 10<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 11, 12, pl. i. The other face of these coins is an imitation of, if not an absolute employment of, a ready prepared die of one class of Muhammad bin Sám's *Hindi* money.

<sup>2</sup> The period extended over forty days — *Minháj us-Siráj*, p. 135, Calcutta Text.

## THIRD KING (A.H. 607, A.D. 1210)

Arám succeeded his father, Aibek, but after a reign, circumscribed in its geographical limits, of barely one year, during which he lost many of the provinces of his nominally inherited kingdom, he was defeated and deposed by Altamsh, at that time governor of Budáon. Minháj us Siráj mentions that at Arám's death Hindustán was divided into four principalities—Sind in the possession of Násir ud din Kubáchah, Dehli and its subordinate divisions belonged to Shams ud din Altamsh, Lakhnauti was held by the Khilji chiefs, Ali Mardan having thrown off his allegiance on the death of Kutb ud din, and Láhor remained a subject of contention between the rulers of Sind, Dehli, and Ghazni.

No 26 (No 13 Plate I)  
Copper, 54 grs. Very rare (Kalinjar Mint?)

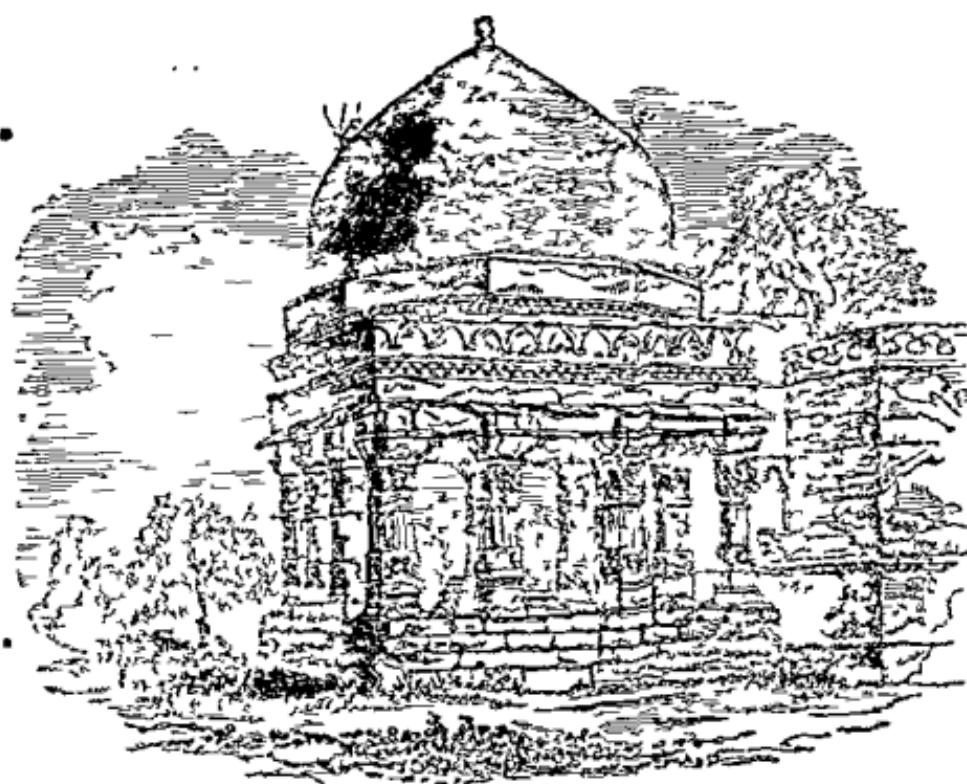
*Obverse*, in imperfectly formed Persian letters—

ابو المظفر آرام شاه السلطان

The victorious Aram Shah, the Sultan

*Reverse*—Rude traces of the figure of the horseman similar to the outline of the device on the Narwar coins.

No 27 (No 14 Plate I) Copper  
*Obverse*—The same as that of No 26



PATHAN TOMB AT SEPREEZ, NEAR GWALIOR

From a sketch by J. Fergusson, Esq.

"As a general rule, the Pathan tombs are complete examples of the Saracenic style, and show but slight traces of Hindu design. But this was not always the case, for, as in their earlier Mosques, they sometimes appropriated the remains of Jaina architecture to save themselves the trouble of erecting the whole building from original materials. These compound edifices are frequently composed of only four pillars, supporting a small dome, but more generally of twelve, arranged, as the Jaina domes usually are, in an octagon worked into a square, supporting a dome of slightly pointed form" —Fergusson, ii. 634.

FOURTH KING (A.H. 607-633; A.D. 1210-1235).

Shams-ud-din-Altamsh, the greatest of the Slave Kings, the slave of a slave: rising, however, to be son-in-law to his master, he first (p. 363) fut le premier qui régna dans la in the legitimate successi <sup>ulant</sup> Avant son avènement au trône, il <sup>ibec."</sup> —Ibn Batoutah, iii. p. 164.

once realized in the slave market, but Badáuni gives a very different version of the derivation of the name

وجه تسمه نایلتمش آست که تولدی درشت گرفت ماد واقع  
شده بود و ترکان انچین مولدرا ایلتمش میگوید<sup>1</sup>

#### OUTLINE OF THE RISE OF ALTAMSH

(Following the Calcutta Persian text of *Minháj us Siráj*, p 168, *et seq.*)<sup>2</sup>

Purchased with another Túrk, called Aibak Tamgháj, for  
the sum of 1,00,000 jitals, by Kutb ud dín, at Dehlí  
Governor of Gwalior on its capture in 592 (p 169)  
„ of Barn (Bulandshahar)  
„ of Budáon

<sup>1</sup> I have submitted this passage, with the entire range of variants, to Mr Redhouse, in the hope that he might solve the difficulty of the origin of the name. His reply is not conclusive, though its grammatical criticisms may chance to promote an eventual solution of the enigma. "Taking Badáuni's paragraph as text, I may point out that though آی means 'moon,' and تَتْمِش may stand for 'he took, seized, eclipsed,'—the latter word, in the passive form, 'it was eclipsed,' etc., being always employed to express the phenomenon of an eclipse, as تَتْلِمِش 'آی تَتْلِمِسی' 'an eclipse of the moon,'—still the ل of our word is out of the required place. Badáuni's remark may be one of those eastern guesses one so often meets with, and really beside the mark, but taking it as it stands, and weighing also the Sanskrit transcription लितितिमिसि, I would suggest that the ل has become misplaced by the transcribers, and that the name was really one of the two passive compounds shown above, the ل being dropped in writing, as is often found in Indian Turki Lexicons. This would make آیتَتْلِمِسی or آیتَتْلِمِش, thus latter being nearer to the Sanskrit transcription, and to the Persian گرفت ماد, viz., 'dy-tutulmasi, eclipse of the moon.' To be correct, this should be written in two words آی تَتْلِمِسی, and more correctly still, with a و, as آی تَتْلِمِسی.

<sup>2</sup> See also Elliot's *Historians*, p 322, etc.

## SUMMARY OF THE EVENTS OF ALTAMSH'S REIGN

A.H. 607 Accession. Táj ud dín Ilduz sends him, in delegated sovereignty, a چتر و درواش (Umbrella and Baton)  
Násir ud dín Kubáchah disputes his title to Láhor,  
Tibarhind, (Sirhind), and Kohram

„ 612 Taj ud dín, driven into Hindustan by the Khwarizmians,  
is defeated, captured, and imprisoned at Budaon,  
where he died, as his tomb testifies

„ 614 Násir ud dín Kubáchah defeated Government of Láhor  
confided to Násir ud dín Mahmud, the heir apparent

„ 618 Jelál ud dín Khwarizmi, defeated by Changíz Khan on  
the Indus, attempts to establish himself in Hindustan,  
but is forced to take refuge in Sind

„ 622 Altamsh proceeds to Bengal, and receives the submission  
of Ghsás ud dín Khuljí

„ 623 Rantambhor captured

„ 624 Mandor (in the Síwahík Hills) captured

„ 625 Uchh surrenders Nasir ud dín drowns himself at Bhakar  
(pp. 144, 173)

„ „ 626 (In Rabí ul awwal) the Emissary of the Khalif Al Mus  
tan'ur arrives at Dehli

„ 626 (Jumad ul awwal) News of the death of the Sultan's  
eldest son, Nasir ud dín Mahmud, reaches the capital

„ 627 Disturbances in Bengal in consequence 'Ala ud dín  
Jámi appointed to Lakhnauti (p. 174)

„ 629 Siege of Gwalior captured, in Safar 630, after eleven  
months' resistance

„ 631-2 Expedition to Málwa, Bhilas,<sup>1</sup> and Ujain

„ 633 „ towards Multan

„ „ (20, Sh'aban), Altamsh dies

<sup>1</sup> The Butkháni, the work of 300 years noticed, its partial destruction, etc

No xxviii

Silver Weight, 149 7 grs Very rare Col Guthrie  
(Prinsep coin B M Weight, 164 grs )



OBVERSE

Square area

الله لا إله

محمد رسول الله

Margin ornamental scroll



REVERSE

Square area within a circle

في عبد الإمام

المستنصر امير

المؤمن

Legend obliterated

I had, from the first, supposed that these exceptional coins were primarily designed to mark the occasion of the arrival of the Khalif's diploma, recognizing the new Muslim Empire of India—at Dehli, on the 23rd of the first month of A H 626, but the absence of any date on the single specimen I was able to quote in 1846, and the uncertainty with regard to the period of issue of the pieces giving the full and complete titles of the Sultán, made me hesitate to assume that these coins, bearing the sole and isolated name of the reigning Khalif of Baghdád, constituted the veritable commencement of the silver coinage of the Dehli Pathans. I now advance the idea with more confidence, not only on the ground of the absence of all examples of any local silver pieces anterior to A H 626, but upon the relative testimony of the writers of the day, as I observe that Hasan Nizámi,

the author of the *Táj-ul-Máásir*, refers his money values nearly exclusively to *Dilluials*, while *Minháj-us-Siráj*, who had more extensive and later experiences, reckons his totals in *chitals* and *tankas* of silver (pp 162-4, 316). The Chitals I conclude to be merely a continuation of the old *Hindu* *Dehliwáls* under the more popular and less exclusively metropolitan name, without however accepting any necessary identity between the palpable coins and the money of account.

It is quite true that the *Táj ul Maásir* alludes to *Dirhams* and *Dinárs*,<sup>1</sup> but these were the names of the current coins of the conqueror's own land, and their mention was merely conventional, and in no wise designed to mark any fixed variety of piece, as may be seen from the contemporaneous reproduction of the gold currency of *Kanauj* (No. 17) in the full traditional fabric and intrinsic value of the locality to which it belonged. Moreover, it may be seen how distinctly the *Tankah* was the accepted and recognized term in India, by the fact that the great *Mahmúd* of *Ghazní*, while continuing to make use of the ordinary mint designation of *Dirham*, in the Kufic legend, of his new *Láhor* coinage of "Mahmúdpúr,"<sup>2</sup> admits the corres-

<sup>1</sup> Hasan Nizámi says, for instance, in reference to the occasion of the capture of Benares by Muhammad bin Sam, that the face of the dinár and dirham was adorned with the name and blessed titles of the king (Elliot's Historians, u. 223). And again, on *Kutb ud din's* accession, "From Peshawur downwards the public prayers and coinage of dinárs and dirhams throughout the whole country, full of rivers, received honor and embellishment from his name and royal titles" (u. 236).

<sup>2</sup> Alburáni, M. Reinhard's *مَدِيْد هُوكُرْ قَصَّة لَوْهَارْ* Fragments, pp 88, 114, Alburáni, MS. *Kánún مَدِيْد كَمَاوَرْ* Sir H. Elliot's copy, Elliot's Historians, 1 62, MSS. *Baihaki* مَدِيْد كَوَرْ, variant *كَكَوَرْ*, Sprenger's Map, No 13 مَدِيْد كَكَارْ Post und Reiserouten des Orients, Leipzig, 1864, Juynboll, Lex Geo مَدِيْد كَوَرْ, *Dosy* مَدِيْد كَوَرْ.

These coins have such special claims upon our attention, under many varied

ponding word टक *taka* (or टक *tanka*) in the Sanskrit legend on the reverse

aspects, that I transcribe the latest revised version of the legends, and reproduce an illustrative wood block of the Hindi face

Silver Size,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  weight 45.4 grs Struck at Mahmúdpur, A.H. 418, 419

OBVERSE

REVERSE

अव्यक्तमेक

القادر

*Abyaktamek*

الله الا الله

मुहम्मद अ

محمد رسول الله

*Muhammad A-*

يمين الدولة

यतार नूप

وامس المملكة

*yatár Nrupa-*

محمد

ति महमूद

سم الله صرت ددا الدرهم

*ti Mahmud*

لله محمود بور سة ثمان عشرة

"The invisible (is) one

واربعماية

"Muhammad incarnation

"King Mahmud"

*Margin—अव्यक्तीय ढामे अथं टकं तता महमूदपुर सवती ४१८*

*Abyaktiya ñdme ayam tankam tata Mahamúdpur Samvat 418*

In the name of the invisible (Bismillah) this tanka, thus [corresponding with the Arabic 'س' , Persian 'س' "in ' ], (struck) at Mahmúdpur, Samvat 418

Other examples, with the Kharida date of 419 A.H., vary the marginal legend as follows —

In consecutive accordance with this suggestion of an

has to be applied to **घटे**, are all open to criticism, and still more so is the rendering of जिकोयेर as victorious, but the जि is in its fit place, and there are many inflexions of ला *इ*, "to do," क्रिया "an act," *Hindustani* تکر "to do" (کا *لے*, "done," etc.), which might fall in with the present loose conditions in so popular an expression as "Victorious Samvat." An association which is the more natural, as this particular type of money seems to have been introduced for the purpose of marking Mahmud's final triumph, in getting possession of Láhor, a conquest which was not achieved so early as has usually been supposed.

On previous occasions, when I had fewer specimens to depend upon, and none that gave the written Kufic counterpart of the *Hindi* figured date for 418, I read the unit figure as २ = 2. I now see that it is in effect an oddly shaped ८ = 8, and that the ९ is formed, like many of our modern figures for the same number, by an addition to the ८ itself, thus ੯; the ੮ is the ordinary form, and the ੯ follows the proper Kashmiri outline of that figure. The Kufic dies for these coins must have been entrusted to a first class artist, for they are uniformly excellently fashioned and correctly marked in the details, whereas the legends on the *Hindi* face of the coinage vary considerably in their execution, and the orthography and the forms of the characters themselves are crude and uncertain in the extreme. Nevertheless these brief records contribute several valuable indications of the advance made in the Sanskrit palaeography of the period.

The derivation of the term *Tanka* is uncertain, Erskine (whose note on the subject is appended) supposed that it came from the Chaghatai Turk for *white*, but this is scarcely probable. The word may have been of Turanian origin, very early identified with Indian speech, we have it in various forms in the modern vernaculars. Wilson remarks that *fanhd* is "in all the dialects largely used for money in general," as *fanhd* is "a stamped coin in general, but the latter word also meant a weight of silver equal to four *mdshas*. In Telugu, *fanlam* is "a coin formerly current, but now used only in account, equal to four silver *fanams*. There was a gold *fanlam* and a copper coin similarly named, both obsolete. Hence, we have تکلہ *fanqild*, "a mint," but, on the other hand, we have تکلہ and *fanla* (Canarese), *tincal*, "Borax," which may re associate the term with "white." Erskine says, "It may be added, that the word *tanka* or *tanga* is of Chaghatai Turk origin, being derived from *tang*, which in that language means *white*, having the same origin as the *aper* (from *άρπος*, white) of the modern Greeks, the *Ak-cha* of the Osmanli Turks, the *tdtar* of the Mingrelians, and many other monies, all originally signifying *white* (Josa *fi* Barbaro in Ramusio, n. 96). The *teng* of Khwârazm would appear to have been worth the fourth of a crown (Astley's Voyages, iv. 484). At the present day in Persia the *tanga* seems to be worth only 6d (J. B. Fraser, Travels in Persia, p. 81)."—Erskine's Hist. India, i. 548 ' 21 *tungas* = *tilla*, or 11s 9 097d' (Bokhârn Money Tables, J. A. S. Bengal, vi. 698. On the other hand, Vambery gives a totally different word for "white" in Chaghatai, keeping the *دېنگ* *teng* to the simple meaning of "Monnaied argeat." The Russian *Денги* *Dengi*.

initial era for the purely Muhammadan coinage of the new Dehli empire—incident to hierarchical recognition from the Court of Baghhdád—there follows naturally an explanation of what has heretofore constituted a difficulty in determining the application of the titles of *Khalif* and *Amir ul Mumínin*, expressed in *Hindi* characters on certain classes of *Dehlí* coins,<sup>1</sup> which are now seen to refer to the “Commander of the Faithful,” whose fame extended throughout the Muslim

<sup>1</sup> The primary intention of the words स्री हमीरः *Sri Hammírah* occurring on the newly adapted currency of the local Sovereigns of India (Nos 5, 10, 11, 12, etc.) has been the subject of controversy since the first publication of specimens of these pieces by James Prinsep, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1835 (vol. iv pp 679-682, the original text of which is reproduced in his Essays, vol. i pp 305-310). Prinsep himself was disposed to identify the name (as he supposed it to be), with that of the Hamira of Mewar, who succeeded to the throne in A.D. 1300. Prof. Wilson, on the other hand (*Ariana Antiqua*, p. 432), imagined that the designation belonged to the “Hamira of Hánse,” in the time of Prithvi Raja (p. 60, *infra*). My own early impressions induced me to infer that the title was intended to replace the conventional *Amir al Mumínin*, so constant on the one surface of all orthodox Muhammadan issues (J. R. A. S. ix (1846), p. 191, Prinsep's Essays, i. 331, Elliot's *Historians*, ii. pp. 8, 428). This conclusion was contested by Sir H. Elliot and General Cunningham (Elliot's Index to the Muhammadan *Historians* of India, published at Agra in 1849, p. 152), and formed the subject of a second Note by the former, written many years ago, but which I considered it my duty to publish exactly as it was found among his papers, unaltered and uncommented upon (Elliot's *Historians*, ii. 403). In now reviewing the whole question, under the new evidence, in its varied aspects, that has been imported into the inquiry by coins, inscriptions, and the large accession to directly contemporaneous history, I have no hesitation in surrendering my early theory. Much of the incidental testimony hitherto brought to light, and which seemed, at first sight, calculated to support the identification with the titular designation of the Khalif, when examined more closely is found to admit of a directly contrary interpretation as I myself had suggested in 1858. I allude especially to the appearance of the term शलीफः *Shalípha*, which succeeds to the exact position on the coins previously occupied by the *Sri Hammírah*, and to the altered aspect that coincidence bears, when taken in connection with the more clear and emphatic definition of the title of the Pontiff, at a more opportune moment, under the improved orthography of “*Sri Amir ulm*,” etc., above described.

The coin No. 18 definitively connects the prefix *Sri Hammírah* with Muhammad bin Sim, and the Palam Inscription (*infra*) conclusively determines the continued

world, even to the Delta of the Ganges.<sup>1</sup> The earliest pieces of this description, which were designed to convey to the subject races of Hindustán, in the letters of their own speech, the title and designation of the supreme Pontiff of their conqueror's faith, bear on the one face, above the conventional horseman of the first Brahman kings of Kábul the words श्री शलीफ *Sri Shalifa* (Khalifa), and on the other surface, distributed around the Bull of Siva (whose image has nearly disappeared in the interwoven lines of the later *tughras*), the curtailed legend श्री अमीर अल्हम... *Sri Amir alhm...*, an apparently crude reproduction of the Arabic امير المؤمنين... *Amir al-mu'minin*... To these, again, succeed, in due order, the coins of similar fabric issued during the reign of Alá-ud-dín Mas'aud,<sup>2</sup> which retain the शलीफ *Shalifa* on the one side, while the more ample title of the "Chief of the Faithful" is replaced by the King's own regnant designation, following, in so far, the practice of his grandfather, who had very early superseded the exclusive mention of the ruling Pontiff.

To complete the evidence of the intentional use of the title of the Khalif on the lower coinage, I am now able to quote the record of Mustansir's name in Hindi as the counterpart of the Arabic definition of his designation and official recognition on the Silver Coins, No. 28.

use of the royal title of *Sri Hammira*, in its application to the then reigning monarch, in contradistinction to the various honorary epithets associated with the names of his predecessors. And, on the other hand, the seeming anomaly of the indifferent employment of the higher and lower titles of *Sultán* and *Amir* is found to be sanctioned by historical usage from the times of Mahmud of Ghazni and his son Masa'ud. See *Albiruni*: (Reinaud's Fragments, pp 135, 154), *Baihaki*, Elliot's *Historians*, ii. pp 65, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Coins of Násir-ud-dín Mahmud *Sháh* of Bengal, and numerous specimens of the Lakhnauti mintages of Riazah.—Plate 1 No. 27 of this work, and *Initial Coinage of Bengal*, pp 38, 42, and coin 28 *suprd*.

<sup>2</sup> Prinsep's *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, vol. i 332, Elliot's *Historians*, ii 248

## The Khalif Mustansir billah

|                      |                                           |                    |                         |
|----------------------|-------------------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| No xxviii a          | Copper                                    | Weight 53 grs      | My cabinet              |
| No 28 b              | Copper, with a small proportion of silver | General Cunningham | General                 |
|                      | Two coins                                 | Weight, 52 grs     |                         |
| HORSEMAN             |                                           |                    | BULL                    |
| स्त्री शलीफ          |                                           | ? म                | मुस्तासिर बल            |
| <i>Sri Shaliphah</i> |                                           | <i>m</i>           | <i>Mustansir billah</i> |

These legends are very imperfect, and have only been restored from the three specimens cited above. The compound letters मुस्त, *must*, are palpable and unmistakeable on two coins, and the सि *si* is legible on both General Cunningham's examples, the concluding विल is so far conjectural that the ल alone is positively apparent on one coin, and what I have given as र *r* may perchance stand for the short त in *billah*.

*Shams ud-din Altamsh*

|                                   |             |                                     |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|-------------------------------------|
| No xxix (New variety No 1 Pl vii) | Col Guthrie | Silver                              |
| Weight, 158 grs                   | A H 632     |                                     |
| Circular area                     |             | Square area, double lines           |
| الله الا الله                     |             | السلطان المظطف                      |
| محمد رسول الله                    |             | شمس الدسا والدنس                    |
| المستنصر ناصر الله                |             | أبو المظفر ناصر الشمس               |
| امير المؤمنين                     |             | السلطان ناصر امير المؤمنين          |
| Margin وثلث وستمائة—              |             | Margin, four small scroll ornaments |

## No xxx (No 13, pl 1)

Prussep collection B M Silver Weight, 163 5 grs  
 Three new specimens, weighing severally 150, 160, and (an  
 oxidized coin), 145 grs Col Guthrie

Legends similar to No 29, with the exception of the  
 "the greatest," which replaces the المظطف "the great," of the former  
 Many of these coins concur in the faulty rendering of the real

بامر الله المستنصر بالله Al mustansir billah, by الله المستنصر بالله Al mustansir billah. The place of mintage is illegible, but two specimens retain traces of an imperfect date, thus سنه ثلثين . . . في شهر . . .

No. xxxi. Silver. Weight, 168.5 grs. A.H. 632.

• OBVERSE as No. 30, omitting the *Nasir Amir Al Muminiin*.

REVERSE as No. 28. *Square* area.

MARGINS, alike on both faces,

ضرب هذا النقمة في . . سنه اثنى وثلثين وستمائة

The fourth trial-piece of Altamsh seems to have satisfied the mint authorities, and to have been officially adopted as the standard monetary type of the Indian Empire, and as such continued to be issued in the same form, and with but slightly varied legends, by the kings who came after him, in unbroken sequence, for a period of more than ninety years. The gold coinage, which makes its appearance later, is clearly framed upon the same model, being identical in weight and design, though necessarily slightly reduced in bulk. Such of Altamsh's silver coins as have reached us are obviously of impure metal, an imperfection to have been expected in the issues of a newly organized mint, but his successors very early secured a high degree of fineness in both the gold and silver coinages—indeed, as far as the metallurgical science of the day extended, they aimed at absolute purity. The real pervading currency of the realm, however, obviously consisted of the time-honored, and widely dispersed *billon* money, and the subordinate copper pieces, which the Muslims inherited with their new dominions from the local princes. In addition to the continued issue of but slightly modified types of Dehliwals with the traditional Bull and Horseman device, Altamsh introduced abundant varieties of small change. I need not recapitulate

the minor peculiarities of these novelties, though many of them are now for the first time published, but the incidental gradations of the Hindu legends on some of the provincial currencies illustrate, in a curious degree, the slow progress of the effective conquest of, or real submission by, the native dynasties, and occasionally disclose an inconveniently premature boast on the part of the historians of the invading race. One of the most instructive series, in this respect, is the coinage of the heads of the Rajput nationalities, whose feudal attachments and heroic contests have been embalmed in the bardic chants of their own tribes, and whose folk lore and traditions have been garnered up and enthusiastically commented on by Col Tod,<sup>1</sup> who so truly identified himself with the home life and familiar institutions of these peculiar races. Our knowledge of the more essentially antiquarian remains extant inscriptions, and legendary history of some of the older states of Rájputana has lately been materially advanced by the patient investigations, traced site by site, and the resulting comprehensive archaeological reports of Gen Cunningham, addressed to the Government of India, the best testimony of my appreciation of which is expressed in the numerous extracts and references incorporated in the following pages.

The coinage of northern India, as we have seen, at and prior to the invasion of Muhammad bin Sám, consisted of *Billon* money, of a type imitated from the less alloyed *Silver* coinage of the Brahmanical kings<sup>2</sup> of the Punjáb,

<sup>1</sup> *Annals of Rajasthán*, by Col J. Tod, London

<sup>2</sup> Albirdi uses the words *كُل مُرَاجِمَة* and *وَرِيرَة* *مِن* *الرَّاجِمَة*

The *Jam-i al Tawârikh* has *مِن* *الرَّاجِمَة* *سَاعِد* which certainly seem to

whose early seat of government had been located at Kábul. Albírúni's account of this dynasty, and the resistance offered by its later members to the advance of the great Mahmúd of Ghazni, concludes with the narrative of the extinction of the race in the person of Bhíma Pála in A.H. 416 (A.D. 1025). Whether Albírúni has preserved the full and continuous succession in the eight names he enumerates is doubtful; but it is clear that there is a break in the terminology between the four leading names on his list and the designations preserved in the second division, while the variation in the nomenclature at their point of juncture, coupled with an apparent cessation of coinage on the part of the leading kings of the second period, seems to indicate the indirect accession of a more southern and definitively Rájpút race, unaccompanied by any such overt rupture, or dynastic revolution, as should reach the comprehension of a stranger to local tradition or the unwritten law, which so readily accepted the most powerful king for the time being, as the Suzerain *Mahá rāja*, wherever he might be domiciled, or whatever sectional creed he might choose to reserve for his own private conscience. I was originally under the impression that the coins of *Anangpál* and *Sallakshanpál* (Nos. 32, 33, *infrá*) belonged to the sixth and seventh kings of Albírúni's consecutive series, supposing that, the one name being *identical*, the other might represent the designation of his successor, so strangely perverted by the Muslim writers into the many varying forms of M. Reinaud's "NARDAJANPÁL." I am now, however, disposed to transfer the pieces bearing the epigraph of "Anangpál" to the king of that name, who point to absolute caste in contradistinction to mere creed. The Túrk kings were Buddhists.

completed *Lal Kot*, and rechristened *Dilli*, about the middle of the eleventh century;<sup>1</sup> and, while seeking a new owner among the closely contemporary sovereigns for the coins of *Sallakshanpál*, to restore to the second *Jaypal* the tribal prefix of *Tuár*.<sup>2</sup> The general style and fabric of the mintages of *Anangpál* remove them, in a marked degree,

<sup>1</sup> "In Mewar is *Somar* Sing, who takes tribute from the mighty . . . In the midst of all, strong in his own strength, *Mund* the prince, the arrogant *Daler* *Pao*, the might of Maroo, fearing none. In *Delli*, the chief of all *Aravas*, at whose summons attended the princes of *Mandore*, *Nagore*, *Sia*'s *Jalwai*, and others on its confines, *Peshawar*, *Lahore*, *Kangra*, and its mountain chiefs, with *Kasi*, *Punjab*, and *Gurh Deogir*." —From "Chanda's" Chronicle, Tod's translation, i. 221. "The author ad's, the Chohans of Ajmér owed at least homage to Delhi at this time, although *Beebil-deo* had rendered it almost nominal, and to *Soméswar*, the fourth in descent, *Anangpál* was indebted for the preservation of his supremacy of his kingdom against the attempt of *Kanouj* for which service he obtained the *Tuár*'s daughter in marriage, the issue of which was *Pirthi* *Raj* who, when only eight years of age, was proclaimed successor to the *Delhi* throne. *Jeichand* of *Kanouj* and *Pirthi* *Raj* bore the same relative situation to *Anangpál*, *Beebijpal*, the father of the former, as well as *Soméswar*, having had a daughter of the *Tuár* to wife." i. p. 223.

<sup>2</sup> M. Peinaud and Sir H. Elliot have collected together numerous variants of the initial portion of this name, as it appears in the different Arabic and Persian MSS. General Cunningham has also quoted many possible readings of the Persian letters forming the name of *Budak*, the King of *Sind*, of *Mar'auh*, in illustration of which he contributes three several Hindi versions of the name of *Tuár*, viz., तौमर, तोमर, and तुपार. Colebrooke gives some eight variants of the authorized orthography of the name of Chohán, and nearly as multifarious a list of the Hindi versions of the name of *Dehli* (Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1827, i. 137). See also Memoirs of Races N.W.P., Sir H. Elliot (London, 1859), i. 63, and ii. p. 294, where he quotes the well known passage—

पौहले दिहली तुमर पीछे घोहानु

चौर पीछे मोगल पठानु

"First in *Dihli* was the *Túmar*, then the *Chauhán*,  
And afterwards *Mogal* and *Páthán*."

Of course, if this interpretation of the prefix to the second *Jaypál*'s name is to be accepted, we must either surrender the previous suggestion that the great *Jaypal* was a *Bhatti* (J.R.A.S. xi. p. 181, Elliot's Historians, ii. 426-440, Tod, i. 251), or else adopt a not improbable alternative, that Rajput Princes had

from the category of the more finished monetary specimens of the first section of the Kábul dynasty, even as their treatment in *tughra*, size, and metal approximates them to the more purely Indian currencies of the later epoch. The absence of any coins of Jaipál I, Anandpál I, *Tuár* Jaipál, or Bhímpál, need scarcely create surprise, now that we have learnt from Mahmúd's own historians<sup>1</sup> what a life he led these later representatives of the ancient dynasty; so that, when Bhímpál retired to his last stronghold at Kangra,<sup>2</sup> he had already become but of small repute in the political comity of the Rájas of northern India.

Abú Rihán Al Birúni's list of the Brahman kings of Kábul and their Indian successors is as follows: After Kank, *ك*,

family designations indicative of the *Got* or tribe of the mother. I am not at all sure that such a supposition would not go far to explain the difficulty environing the name of "Gola," which has been made into "slave" (Tod, i. 179), "natural son," etc. etc., but which would more reasonably answer to some of the vernacular renderings of "Gehlote," ("Someswara, originally called Prithvi Raja, was a *Guhila* by the mother's side. — Cunningham, Arch Rep p 14), equally as some of the prefixes to *پور حیبال* *Per Jaipál* and "*Perou Hibal*" (Elliot, ii 47) may chance to accord with the classical *Pramar*. The Muhammadan authors seldom specify, and probably but imperfectly realised the gradations of Hindu castes, but the *Táj ul Maásir*, in speaking of the investment of Kálınjar in A.D. 1202, mentions that "the accursed *Perindr*, the Ráu, fled into the Fort," etc (Elliot's Historians, ii 231, and p 228 *Rd: Solankh psf*, of Gwalior, A.D. 1196) Paríhár dynasty at Marwar from A.D. 1129, "the last Paríhár Raja," escapes from *Gwalior* in A.D. 1232, on its capture by Altamsh (Cunningham, Arch Rep 1864-5, p 29) The Paríhár dynasty of Gwalior extended from 1228 A.D. to the final capture in 1232 (pp 50, 55, *ibid.*) Of course, these are merely suggestive speculations, but it is clear from the numerous quotations concerning tribal divisions among the Rájputs preserved by Col. Tod, that the *Gotam* distinction would be as likely to be kept prominently in view among individuals as among the clans themselves. In referring to an earlier period, Col. Tod enumerates the contingents furnished from each State, "from Ajmir the *Got*, Dehli the *Tear* Putun the *Chauras* Rujdhar, Kanouj the Rahtor, Jesulgurh the *Bhatti*, Láhor the *Boosa*, and from Nadolsye the *Chohan*." 1 248

<sup>1</sup> Elliot's Historians, ii. pp 19, 22, 24, 33, 47, 50

<sup>2</sup> Elliot, ii. p 34, 48

In some of the more finely executed coins there are traces of the word राजा Rājā after the *Anangapāla deva*. The introductory title on the

introductory series, instead of over the Horseman on the Obverse, as is usual on the later imitations. The outline of the Bull itself is comparatively archaic, following the treatment observable in the coins of Bhima (A.A. xix 9, 17), and which I should, on other grounds, attribute to a Kangra or proximate site. The Hindu writing is comparatively more formed and developed than is usual on the hundred pieces, but the execution of the Kufic letters denotes an early period, and the monogram of ل associates the issue indirectly with the coinage of Mas'ud III of Ghazni, who affected the title of ساللہ (J.R.A.S. ix 367, and coin No. cxxxv), and occasionally placed the abbreviated سلی on the top of the field on his silver money. But the connexion is more directly established by the fact that I am able to quote a small coin of Mas'ud III with his full titles in Kufic on the obverse, combined with the identical ل on the *Jhal* of the Bull. Mas'ud III (A.H. 492-508), it will be remembered, was the first of his race who occupied Lāhor as an occasional capital, and whose generals attempted to annex the country towards the Ganges—Násiri, p. 21, Ibn Asir, x p. 303, Briggs, l. 143, Elphinstone, 355.

As the Hānsi Inscription, which may chance to illustrate some of the doubtful names above transcribed, is but little known, and but imperfectly accessible to modern readers, I append an abstract of its leading historical sections.

#### INSCRIPTION FROM HĀNSI (copied by Captain E. Fell, from a stone in the Fort)

- 1 Salutation to Devi, etc
- 2 The Prince Prithvi Raja was born in the race of the descendants of the moon his maternal uncle was named Kirana, an increaser of his fame
- 3 He was as an autumnal moon, for an ornament to that firmament, the tribe of Guhilanta, etc
- 4 Having slain the warrior Hammura ["Hamvira," or Amir, according to Wilson, p. 466], who was an arrow to the earth, the king, who was a serpent to the riches of his enemies. . . . presented to him, possessing pure virtues, the strong fortress of Asiki
- 5 Having, for the purposes of battle, entered the lofty peaked fortress Travellers describing a celestial, and highly finished road, which he (Kirana) had made, and which resembled the very heart (best part) of the earth, thus exclaimed, "Oh thou hero Hammura, where now is thy name and majesty"
- 6 By new revenues, arising from his victories, first the high road was finished, near it were two lofty buildings made of copper, etc., and also an apartment for the wealth of his enemies . . .
- 7 But what can be said of the greatness . . . of the fortunate Kilhana, divinely seated, broad-chested, strong armed, whose festivals are far-famed . . .

Bull surface of these coins varies from the *Mādhava* (a synonym of *Krishna*), to the bilateral चा *cha* and the more ample असावरी *Asavari* (a title of *Durga*)

9 Oh thou hero! Hanuman thus writes, "that you possess wonderful valour, and that without a doubt the illustrious prince Prithvi Raja is Rāma."

10 Being born in the line of Guhalanta, etc.

11, 12, 13, 14 [conventional glorifications, etc.]

15 And, again, Kilavalha, born in the tribe of Tāda, an image of strength, and a slayer of the armies of all his foes (was) a bee to the lotus feet of the fortunate Kilhana his son Upaga was called on the earth Lakshmana

16 He was an excellent sage, and by his devotion obtained the abode of the three eyed god This fortunate Lakshmana was always the chief of those composed minds.

In the year of Sambat 1224 (A.D. 1168) on Saturday, the 7th of the white fortnight, of the month of Magha."—As Res xv (published in 1825), pp 443-6, 455

Col. Tod has published, in the first volume of the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society (1827), "the substance" of this identical inscription, which he states he obtained at Hānsi Hisār, in 1815 "The stone on which it was engraved was presented to the Marquis of Hastings in 1818, but is not now to be traced Col. Tod's version differs in many respects from that given above—(1) In the name of *Kirana*, which he uniformly makes into *Kilhana*, as it appears in paragraphs 7 and 16 of the Fell translation, (2) Hammira, instead of being slain, is himself invested with the charge of the strong fortress of *Asi*, (3) The road said to have been constructed in the one version becomes "a gateway" in the other, (4) "Two halls the victorious treasury of the foe's wealth and his own abode, replaces the words in paragraph 6, above given, (5) and Tāda is corrected into Doda (*Dör*)

It would be rash to arbitrate between these two authorities in the absence of the original document in dispute, with the witnesses on either side in their graves, but certainly Capt. Fell's version is somewhat obscure and disconnected, while Tod's, though only an abstract, seems more simple and consistent. Prof. Wilson, however, who publishes the posthumous work of Capt. Fell, whom he designates as that "distinguished scholar," possibly had the transcript text available to check the translation to which he lends his authority Tod's case is not so clear, though from the general tenor of his paper there remains a doubt as to whether he had the complete Sanskrit transliteration in his possession

See also Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, p 432, who partially repeats his accepted interpretation of the inscription, in the words, "He was more probably the Hammira, who was governor of Hānsi in the time of Prithvi Rai, and was killed by the Raja's uncle Kilhana, as recorded by an inscription found in that Fort."

|                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| No. 33                           | 2 Sallakshana pála deva <sup>1</sup>                                                                                                                                                     |
| Silver and copper                | Weight, 50 grs (J R A S ix figs 11, 12)                                                                                                                                                  |
| Horseman                         | Bull                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| स्त्री सल्लक्षण पाल देव          | स्त्री समन्त देव                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>Srī Sallakshana pála deva</i> | <i>Srī Samanta deva</i>                                                                                                                                                                  |
|                                  | *                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| No. 34                           | 3 Madana Pála Deva                                                                                                                                                                       |
| Silver and copper                | Weight, 51 grs (J A S Bengal, iv. pl. xxxvi<br>fig 16, Prinsep's Essays, xxv fig 16, xxvi fig 27; Arana<br>Antiqua, xix figs 19 and 23, J.R.A.S. vol. ix. illustrative<br>plate, fig 13) |
| Horseman                         | Bull                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| श्री मदन पाल देव                 | माधव श्री समन्त देव                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>Srī Madana pála deva</i>      | <i>Mādhava Srī Samanta deva</i>                                                                                                                                                          |

In order to bring under one view all the coins of this class appertaining to Native States, at or about the epoch of the extension of the Muhammadan conquests among the Rájpút tribes, I append a notice of two coins of Mahipála, the one having traces of the old Brahmanical Bull and Horseman device, the other approximating, in a minor degree, to the Narwar design of Cháhar's local issues

No 35 Mahípala, king of Gwalior, etc , A.D 1093<sup>1</sup>

Copper, or copper with a very small admixture of silver Weight,  
46 grs (3 specimens, my cabinet)

Horseman

Bull

The original figure

श्री महीपाल

is scarcely to be traced

*Sri Mahípála*

In large coarse modern looking  
characters, with the *mátrás* (or  
head lines) nearly level, as in  
Muhammad Sám's coin No 13)

No 36 Mahípal

Silver and copper Weight, 43 grs (J R A S ix plate, fig 15,  
pp 188, 198

श्रीम

*Sri Ma-*

हपाल

*hípála*

देवः

*Devah*

Imperfect traces

of the Chohán Bull

(No legend )

No 37 4 Someswara deva

Silver and copper Weight, 53 grs (A A xix 28, J R A S ix  
fig 16

Horseman

Bull

श्री सोमेश्वर देव

*Sri Somesvara deva*

असावरी श्री समन्त देव

*Asavari, Sri Samanta deva*

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, Gwalior Inscriptions, p 62, A.D 1093 and 1103 Rajendra  
Lala Mitra, J A S Bengal, pp 12, 16, Prinsep, Useful Tables, p 258

|                              |                                                                                            |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| No 38                        | 5 Prithví Raja Deva                                                                        |
| Silver and copper            | Weight, 52 grs (Ariana Antiqua, xix fig 18,<br>Prinsep's Essays, 1 pl xxv fig 21, xxvi 30) |
| Horseman                     | Bull                                                                                       |
| श्री पृथ्वी राज देव          | असावरी श्री समन्तदेव                                                                       |
| <i>Sri Prithvi Raja deva</i> | <i>Asāvarī Sri Samanta deva</i>                                                            |

It will be seen that in this new arrangement of these coins I have altogether abandoned any principle of continuous sequence as well as any theory of limitation to one family or to one locality in short, I hold that the right to issue this particular species of currency was conventionally confined to the Lord paramount among the Rájput States for the time being, and that the acknowledged *Rajadhiraj* (राजाधिराज) 'King over Kings' or the "Dhiraj" of the vernacular, was alone entitled to this symbol of supremacy<sup>1</sup>. That the exercise of the right was frequently abused is

<sup>1</sup> We may here briefly describe the state of Hindusthán at this epoch and for centuries previous to the invasions of Mahmúd (four great kingdoms)—  
1 Dehli under the Túars and Chohans 2 Kanouj under the Rahtores  
3 Mewar under the Gheotes 4 Anhulwara under the Chauras and Solankhis  
To one or other of these states the numerous petty princes of India paid homage and feudal service. The boundary line between Dehli and Kanouj was the *Kol nad*, or black stream. Dehli claimed supremacy over all the countries westward to the Indus embracing the lands watered by its arms from the foot of the Himalaya, the desert, to the Aravuli chain. The power of Kanouj extended north to the foot of the Snowy Mountains eastward to Kasi (Benares) and across the Chumbul to the lands of the Chundail (now Bündelkhand) on the south its possessors came in contact with Mewar (or Medya war) the central region, which was bounded to the north by the Aravuli chain to the south by the Pramaras of Dhar westward by Anhulwara, which state had the ocean to the south, the Indus on the west and the desert to the north—Tod 11 9 and 1. 248 At p 443 vol 11 Col Tod gives Chanda's picture of the Chohan dominion. From the seat of government (*Rajdsthan*) Mādchōl (old Gurra Mundilla) the oath of allegiance (*ān*) resounded in fifty two castles

highly probable, but among these heroic races,<sup>1</sup> who were sensitive to a degree on questions of honour and precedence, an assumption which could not be defended by the sword was likely to be of brief continuance. The old Kabul device of the Bull and Horseman, with its special Hindu associations, was apparently revived by Anangpál, at Dehli, in the days of his power; as other potentates came to the front, and other clans secured a temporary dominancy, his position changed, and, later in point of time, Dehli became a mere king-ship subject to Ajmír. It will be seen that I propose to assign the next coin, in the order of date, to Sallakshanapála I., the Chándel monarch of Mahoba,<sup>2</sup> who

<sup>1</sup> Have we anything in European chivalry to compare with the act of the Suktawnt Chief, who is related to have voluntarily submitted himself for impalement on the spikes of the gate of a beleaguered town, to enable his own elephant to force an entry?—Tod, i. 150

<sup>2</sup> CHÁNDÉL DYNASTY (Mahoba, Kálınjar, etc) Cunningham, Arch Rep, 1864-5

<sup>A.D.</sup>

- 7th King, 900, Dhanga (Khajuráho Inscriptions, A.D. 954 and 999)
- 8th " 999, Ganda (Nanda Rai of Ferishtah<sup>3</sup> A.D. 1021)
- 9th " 1025, Vidyádhara deva
- 10th " 1046, Vijaya Pála
- 11th " 1065, Kirtti Varmma deva COINS
- 12th " 1085, Sallakshana Varmma deva (Mhow Inscriptions) COINS
- 13th " 1105, Jaya Varmma deva (Khajuráho Inscriptions, A.D. 1116)  
COINS [Princep's Essays, pl. xxv 7, 8, p. 291 यो चलय देव]
- 14th " 1120, Sallakshana Varmma deva<sup>3</sup> brother of Jaya
- 15th " 1125, Pñihvi Varmma. COINS
- 16th " 1130, Madana Varmma deva (Inscriptions, 1131, 1163, A.D.) COINS
- 17th " 1163, Kirtti Varmma deva?
- 18th " 1167, Paramárdha deva (Inscriptions, 1167 and 1183 A.D.)
- 19th " 1202, Trinlokya Varmma deva. Dilli: of Ferishtah<sup>3</sup> A.D. 1247
- 20th " 1205, Sandhura Varmma deva (Copper plate Inscriptions, 1250 A.D.)
- 21st " 1250, Dhoja Varmma (Ajaygurh Inscription), 1288 A.D.
- 22nd " Vira Varmma (Maisey's Inscription, No. n), 1315 A.D.

we learn from inscriptions extended his conquests into the Gangetic Doáb, and to his grandson *Madana Varmma deta* I assign the coins bearing his leading name, in preference to the nearly contemporary *Madana Pala*, of Kanauj, whose territory was supplied with a different description of coinage, as well as on account of the serial consistency, if the earlier pieces are rightly attributed to his grandsire, whose power he seems to have inherited in added stability<sup>1</sup>. The assignment of the money of the Chohán kings Someswara and Prithvi Raja requires no confirmation, but our special

General Cunningham adds the coins of this dynasty are "extremely rare as I have obtained only seven specimens in gold, and nine in copper, during a period of more than thirty years. The gold and silver coins are all of the well known type of the Rathors of Kanoj which bear a seated figure of the four armed goddess *Durgd* or *Pdreati* on the obverse, and on the reverse, the king's name in three lines of Mediæval *Adgars* characters. The copper coins bear, on the obverse, a two armed male figure, which appears to be that of the monkey god *Hanumdu* and, on the reverse, the king's name in *Nágari* characters. Arch Report 1864-5, pp. 85-88.

General Cunningham was under the impression that the *Trailokya Varma Deva*, of the Chāndel list, might be identified with the "Dilki and Milkı" of Ferishtah. The more complete details of the actors and events of this period, furnished by the work of *Minháj us Siráf* seem to show that though the association of *Trailokya* with the *Milkı* or *Milkdeva* (ملکی) the son of *Vasala*<sup>2</sup> of Gwaler (Elliot, II 327, Persian text p. 174) ملکو پسر مل or ملل or ملل, *var* ملکو پسر مل, the *Tárikh Mubárik Sháh* which copies *Minháj us Siráf* has ملک مالک MS. Sir II Elliot, A.H. 679 = A.D. 1231), might be possible, notwithstanding the obscurity of the patronymic, the name of *Dilki* and *Milkı* (ملکی و ملکی او را نہ ہوں), of A.H. 645 = A.D. 1247, can scarcely apply to the same individual, who is described as residing "in the vicinity of the Jumna, between Káhnjár and Karra, whose dwelling place no Muhammadan army had ever reached" — *Tabakát-i Násim* pp. 211, 291. See also Elliot, II 348-368 in 76.

<sup>1</sup> Inscriptions at *Mho c*, translated by Lieut. Price, 2, Káhnjár, Lieut. Maisey No. IV and 11 others — Cunningham, Arch. Report, p. 83.

concern at present is with the issues of Cháhar Deva. We have independent evidence of his supremacy at Narwar, in A.D 1246;<sup>1</sup> and in 1234 we first find him encountering the troops of Altamsh, under Nusrut-ud-dín Tábasi. On this and subsequent occasions of his conflicts with the Muslims, extending up to A.D. 1253, with the capture of Narwar, by Balban, in 1251, he is described by Minháj us Siráj, as نرگریں راں اچاری "Aín Rána Achári," who was "The greatest of the kings of Hindustán," etc.,

<sup>1</sup> "In my account of the ancient coins of Narwar, I have brought forward specimens of Cháhada Deva which are dated in various years, from S 1303 to 1311, or A.D 1246 to 1254, and specimens of his son Asala Deva which range from S 1311 to 1336, or from A.D 1254 to 1279. As these are corroborated by several existing inscriptions there seems to be no reason to doubt that at least these two Rajas must have been independent princes. But there are also similar coins of a third prince, named Malaya Varmma Deva, who, from the dates of S 1280 and 1290, or A.D 1223 and 1233, must have been the immediate predecessor of Cháhada Deva. His coins were found at Narwar, Gwalior, and Jhansi, but as there are only five specimens, it is not certain that they belong to Narwar. Indeed the name of Varmma would rather seem to point to Kálınjar. It is possible, therefore, that Cháhada himself may have supplanted the Parihár dynasty. But I am rather inclined to think that Malaya Varmma Deva must have dispossessed the Parihárs, and that he was shortly afterwards ejected by Cháhada Deva, who was most probably the founder of a new dynasty, as the genealogy of the family opens with his name. Cháhada was succeeded by his son Asala Deva. His money also is common. I found his name on a Sati pillar at Rai, near Kulháras, S 1327 or A.D 1270, during the reign of *Sri-mat Asala Deva*. From all these various sources the chronology of this Narwar dynasty may be arranged with considerable precision, although the dates of accession cannot be exactly determined—1 Cháhada Deva, A.D 1238—1254 2 Asala Deva, A.D 1254—1279 3 Gopála, A.D 1279—1291 4 Ganapati, A.D 1291—1293 As no coins of the last two princes have yet been discovered, I infer that they must have been made tributary by the Muhammadan kings of Delhi"—Arch Report, 1864-5, p 30. See also General Cunningham's "Coins of the nine Nágas, and two other dynasties of Narwar and Gwalior"—J. A. S. Bengal, vol. xxxiv (1865), p 116

and other similar expressions,<sup>1</sup> showing that he was the recognized leader and lord paramount of the Hindu princes of central India, struggling to preserve their kingdoms from the foreign invader. The term احاري is susceptible of two interpretations, the one as the correspondent of آخاڑا

و بوقت مراجعت راہ احاري که حاهر نام بود سر راه لشکر اسلام

نگرفت (A.H. 632, A.D. 1234 p. 240)

دروقت مراجعت ار كالہر معر لشکر اسلام ندين راہ احاري  
بود في الحمله اس راہ سر راه لشکر اسلام در مصائق ار آف سدی  
حمله کرد [The Sindhu of Narwar, A.H. 632] [Nusrat ud din

آں ہدوک احاري چان بر من [Albasu adda, in his own person]  
حمله کرد کہ گوئی گرگی اس کہ رومہ گو سعدان می افد (p. 297)  
العجان بالشکرهای سسار طرف رسپور و نص کوہ پایہ مسوات و  
للان باہر [حاهر] دبو کہ برگترس رانیں ہدو سان بود ناہر شد  
A.H. 646, A.D. 1248 p. 292

و در آن مفتر تا برد لکٹ مالوہ برقند و حاهر احاري که برگتریں رانگان  
آن للان و نقاع بود نقدر پا چوار سوار و دو لکٹ پیادہ داشت مسرم  
گشت و قلعہ بلور [برور] که عمارت کرده بود فتح شد و س گشت  
A.H. 649 A.D. 1251, p. 215

حاهر احاري را کہ راہ س شگرف (A.H. 649, p. 296) و اين  
راہ احاري که حاهر نام بود مردی دس حلد و کاردار جمنا, between  
army had ever seen. سلطان سعید شمس الدین طاب ثراہ در سال 348 300, in. 76

ستمایہ (p.). اين حکایت صحیح آن او، No iv and 11 others —Cannan

<sup>1</sup> Inscriptions at Mhow

*A'chára*, "established custom, usage," the other, and more probable meaning, as आचार्य Acharyya, "A spiritual guide," under the vernacular variants of *Achary* احْارَج and *A'chari*. We know that many of the chiefs of these Rajput tribes

روش گردد که شیاست و حبانگری العجان (A H 649, A D 1251) معمول تا چه انداره بود که اس چس حسمی را مقصود و مسرم گرداند و قلعه نرور [نرور] را که حصنامدار است از دست تصرف او سروں کرد p 297

و رای رتپور نادر [حاذر] دیو که اعظم رایان و اصل و نزدیک ترین ملوک هد است لشکر کشد (A H 651, A D 1253) . . . [العجان] تمام آن لشکر رای حادر دیورا اگرچه س اسوه و نا صلاح و اسب بودند مسرم گرداند p 299 Calcutta text

Also Elliot's Historians, II pp 351, note 1, 366, 370

The Tarikh-i-Mub'rik Shahi, compiled circa A H 838, which closely follows Minhaj us Siraj, in the epitome of the earlier reigns of the Sultans of Delhi, in giving its version of the encounter with Cháhar Deva, speaks of him as

هر حادیو لعس که معمول ترین کفار ای دیار بود

The other Rájas from Prithvi downwards, are merely described severally as مالک or رای صانت, or رای

'In the very early periods, the princes of the Solar line, like the Egyptians and Romans, combined the offices of the priesthood with kingly power and this whether Brahmanical or Boodhist and in ancient sculpture and drawings the head is as often adorned with the braided lock of the ascetic as with the diadem of royalty (even now the Rana of Méwar mingles spiritual duties with those of royalty, and when he attends the temple performs himself all the offices of high priest of the day) Tod : 27, 582 — *Rajadjesvara*, title of prince of Marwar, Rāj Rāj Indra of Amber, II. 137 — *Rawal*, title of the prince of Jessulmér II. pp 249, 277 — *Ranas* of Méwar ducans or Vicegerents of Siva, I. 517 — *Rana* of Méwar, heir to the throne of Rama called *Hindua Sooraj*, or Sun of the Hindus, I. 211, 232 — The *Acháris* however, may by some sort of possibility stand for *Acharyas*, a term derived from *Ahar* in Odipur, I. pp 213 216

in later days affected hierachal honours, calling themselves *Mahants*, etc., and the famous Samarsi was designated as the "Regent of Mahádeva"<sup>1</sup>

The coins described below illustrate—1, The independent position of Chahar Deva as *Maláraja Adhíraja*, 2, His concession of supremacy to Altamsh, 3, The establishment of Altamsh's generals in Ajmír and 4, The contrast in the orthography of the Dehli coins of that Sultán, and the transliteration of the name current in Rajputána

Coins of CHAHAR DEVA as paramount Sovereign

|       |                       |                      |              |
|-------|-----------------------|----------------------|--------------|
| No 39 | SC (copper in excess) | Weight 50 grs        | A.A. xix. 16 |
|       | HORSEMAN              |                      | BULL.        |
|       | श्री चाहड देव         | असावरी श्री समन्तदेव |              |

Sri Cháhada Deva | Asávarí Sri Samanta Deva

CHÁHAR DEVA as Tributary to Shams ud din Altamsh?

|       |                              |                  |              |
|-------|------------------------------|------------------|--------------|
| No 40 | SC (copper predominates)     | Weight, 48 grs   | (No 15 pl 1) |
|       | Ariana Antiqua xix. 31 34 37 | Prinsep's Essays | pl xxvi 31   |
|       | HORSEMAN                     |                  | BULL.        |

श्री चाहड देव | असावरी श्री समसोरल देवे

Sri Cháhada Deva | Asávarí Sri Samasorala Deva

ALTAMSH'S own proper Coins struck at Ajmír<sup>2</sup>

|       |                        |               |
|-------|------------------------|---------------|
| No 41 | SC (of inferior value) | Weight 50 grs |
|       | Prinsep's Essays       | 1 p 333       |
|       | HORSEMAN               | BULL.         |

श्री हमीर | श्री समसोरलदेवे

Sri Hamírah | Sri Samasorala Deva

<sup>1</sup> Tod, 1 257. *Munháj us Siráj* at p 149, Calcutta text, speaking of Lakhmanish of Bengal, uses a curious expression in regard to his position as *Khahfa*.  
 رحابدان ایشان را رایاں ہد برگت داشتندی و نہ سل حلقہ ہد  
 شمردندی Inter alia see notice of Acháry Mala Bhadur, Elliot, II 547

ALTAMSH's Imperial Delhi Coins

No 42 SC Weight, 48 grs (No 16, pl 1)

Samvat 1288=A.D. 1231=A.H. 629

Ariana Antiqua, xix. 32, xx 3 Prinsep's Essays xxvi 34, 39, 41

HORSEMAN

Bull.

स्त्री हमीर

सुरिताण स्त्री समसदिण

Sri Hammīrah

Suritan Sri Samasadin

On the side of the Bull, १२८८

These issues vary materially in the intrinsic value of the different pieces ranging from nearly pure silver to copper, with a mere trace of the higher metal

The legends on these coins differ occasionally in the definition of the Hindu version of the Sultan's name and titles some specimens have सुरिताण स्त्री समसदिण *Suritan Sri Samasa din*, and occasionally दीण *dīṇ* Among other peculiarities, coins with these latter legends insert what are apparently dates, under the hump of the recumbent Bull The isolated numbers hitherto observed extend only to ४=4 and ६=6, which may be supposed to indicate the years of the reign The practice of introducing the full *Samvat* date, in the available spaces in the general outline of the *Tughra* device, seems to have been an amplification of this preliminary modification of the old Hindu symbols and their ultimate elaboration into numeral dates, as above given

The subordinate die modifications peculiar to the epochal and geographical ramifications of the ancient device of the Hindu kings of Kabul are otherwise interesting, and may lead, under closer and more exact observation, to an improved classification of the different mintages In the strictly initial section of these issues, comprising the silver money, the symbol on the Bull of Siva is confined to his own special trident or *trisul* Anangapāla introduces a sword or club in place of the trident (Ariana Antiqua, xix 15, Prinsep's

Essays, pl. xxv figs 14, 15), and at times resorts to a four petalled flower (J R A S ix 9) Madana Pala retains the *trisul* but slightly altered (xxv 16), though in other cases he varies the device (xxvi 27), and in one instance reverts to the best form of the old Brahman *trisul* (J R A S ix fig 13), with the exceptional adjunct of a clearly defined  $\mathfrak{Z}=2^{\mathfrak{c}}$  Prithvi Rája and Chahar Deva admit of a further alteration, and the ancient trident assumes almost the form of an opening flower (xxv 21 30, 31) Muhammad bin Sám, without rejecting the modernised form of the old symbol, in some cases affects a rose like flower similar to that employed by Ananga (xxv 20)

One of the most instructive exemplifications of the then prevailing system of adoption, or assimilation of local types is afforded by another mintage of Altamsh's, of earlier date, which is directly identified with the capture of Rantambhor, in A H 625 (Samrat 1283 = A D 1226), from Chahar Deva's predecessor, *Malaya Varma Dera* (A D 1210-1235).<sup>1</sup> The obvious imitation of the style and arrangement of the legends of the local (Narwar?) money may be traced on the *Hindi* face of the Indo Muhammadan pieces, and the substitution of *GHAZNAVI Persian* legends for the imperfect design of the typical horseman of the Kabul Brahmans, in conventional use in the patrimonial states of the Mahoba *Varma* dynasty is also suggestive, and, taken in connection with the fact that this new issue was not sustained beyond the single annual date now quoted, would seem to show that the exceptional currency was designed to mark the event of

<sup>1</sup> General Cunningham J A S Bengal vol. xxxiv (1865) p 127 and Archaeological Report 1864-5 p 90 [The name is not given in any historical account the identity of the owner of the fortress is assumed from the connection established by the coins]

the conquest of the celebrated Hindu stronghold, so vauntingly reported by the contemporary historian.<sup>1</sup> in short, we may fairly infer that the coinage in question was intended as a kind of Numismatic *Fateh Namah*, or "announcement of victory," its superscriptions, couched in the conjoined languages and alphabets of conquerors and conquered, were made more emphatically to point to the epoch of the surrender, by the repetition of the date, in the eras special to either nationality. These stamped manifestoes of the new lords of the soil penetrated more readily throughout the land, and brought home to the comprehensions of the primitive races, among whom they were designed to circulate, the actual change in the ruling power, far more effectively than elaborate proclamations by sound of trumpet or beat of drum, which would have secured a short lived and less abiding expression of triumph.

One of the peculiarities of this issue, which also gives it an independent value, is that it furnishes the single instance, in the entire range of Altamsh's Kufic or Persian coins and

و در شبور سه ثلث و عشرين و ستمائه عزيمت فتح قلعه رتپور  
محتم فرمود و آن قلعه در حصارت و مسانت و استحکام در نیام  
ملکت هندوستان مذکور و مشهور است و در تواریخ اهل هد  
چس آورده اند که هفتماد و اند نادشاه پای آن قلعه امده بودند  
و همچ یکی را فتح آن حصار مسر شد بعد از مدت چند ماه در  
شبور ثلث و عشرين و ستمائه بردست سدگان او بغل آفریدگار

فتح شد Tabukat-i Nasir, 145

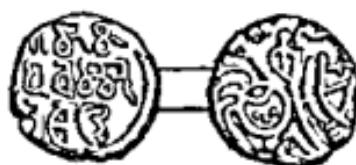
Elliot's Historians, II 324, Ferishtah (Briggs), I p 210, Elphinstone (edit 1866) p 374. See also note to coin of Shfr Shah, from the same mint, *infra*, for a description of the fortress itself.

inscriptions, of a counterpart definition of his original *Turk* name, the correct expression of which is still undetermined, and though the Hindi version may carry but little positive authority in the matter, it gives us probably the pronunciation as orally delivered by his *Turk* officials to the *Indian* Pandits who transliterated the name for the local die engravers.

Malaya Varmma Deva, of Kálinjar, *Naricar*, etc ?

No 43 Silver and copper Weight, 50 to 56 grs *Samvat*,  
1282=A.D. 1225<sup>1</sup>

Prinsep's Essays, pl xxv fig 17, Journ As Soc Bengal, 1865,  
pl xviii figs 25, 26, p 126



श्री मला

लय वर्म्म

देव सं १२

*Sri Mat Malaya  
Varmma Deva  
Sam(vat) 12*

A

crudely executed  
figure of the  
Kabul horseman

Shams ud dñ Altamsh, on the conquest of Rantambhor ?

No 44 Silver and copper Weight, 53 grs *Samvat*, 1283

## Cháhara Deva Narwar Coins ?

No 45 Silver and copper Weight, 50 to 59 grs

Samrat, 1303<sup>1</sup>=A.D. 1246

Engravings, J A S Bengal, 1865, pl. xviii figs 27, 28, p. 126

Figure of the  
horseman,  
scarcely recognisable

ओ मत्ता

ह देव

सं १३०३

Sri Mat Cháhada Deva  
Samrat, 1303No 46 New variety Silver and copper Weight, 50 grs  
My cabinet

السلطان الأعظم الشمس السلطان—

REVERSE—Horseman, as in Muhammad bin Sam's coin, No 5, pl. 1

No 47 Silver and copper Weight, 46 grs Common  
No 17, pl. 1

شمس الدسا والدين الشمس—

Reverse—स्री हमीर; Sri Hammirah Horseman

No 48 Silver and copper Weight, 53 grs Common  
No 18, pl. 1

شمس الدسا والدين ايلشمس السلطان—

Reverse—स्री हमीर Sri Hammirah Horseman

دل

Copper Weight, 44 grs Rare Multan

Reverse—Square area, within a circle, with a dotted margin

عدل السلطان

No

Area, as in No 19, pl. 1, صرف ملستان

<sup>1</sup> Other dates range on down to S. 1311

## G Inscription on the Upper Circlet of the Second Story of the Minaret

السلطان الاعظم شيشاہ المعظم مالک رقاب الامم مسخر ملوك العرب و العجم طل الله في العالم شمس الدسا و الدين عباد السلام و المسلمين ناج الملوك و السلاطين باسط العدل في العالمين علا الدولة القاهرة حلال الملة الظاهرة المoid من السماء المطفر على العداد شباب سما. الحلاة ناشر العدل والراية مسخر مالک الدسا و مطر كلمة الله العلا ابو المطفر ايلتمس السلطانی ناصر امر المؤمنين حلد الله ملکه و سلطانه و اعلى امرة و شاه

## H On the third story over the doorway, and on one of the bands, similar laudatory titles are repeated, with the addition of يمس الحلاة and other minor variations, and finally the epigraph (1) over the doorway of the fourth story attributes the entire structure (with obvious error) to the time of Altamsh. The modification of his titles and designations alone would indicate the deferred execution of this inscription

امربده العمارة في ايام الدولة السلطان الاعظم شيشاہ المعظم مالک و بناء الامم مولی ملک الترك و العرب و العجم شمس الدسا و الدين معر الاسلام و المسلمين دواامن و الامان وارث ملک سليمان ابو المطفر ايلتمش السلطان ناصر امر المؤمنين

## I Inscription of Altamsh on one of the centre arches at the Kutb, date A.H. 629

J There is also an imperfect inscription of Altamsh on the lower belt of one of the minarets of the mosque at Ajmیر. Gen Cunningham gives the following as the still legible portion

سلطان السلاطين الشرق ابو المطفر ايلتمش السلطانی ناصر امر المؤمن

Archaeological Report, 1864-5, p. 9.—The Emperor Babur has preserved a notice of an inscription of Altamsh which he saw on the gate of the *Uswat* at Gwalior, dated A.H. 630 (Erskine, p. 384, Arch. Rep. 1864, p. 56).

Násir-ud dín Mahmúd Sháh, heir apparent of Altamsh

(See p. 45, *suprd*.)

No 60 Silver Weight, 163 1 grs Unique British Museum



OBVERSE

السلطان الاعظم  
ناصر الدين والدين  
أبو المظفر محمد  
شاد بن سلطان



REVERSE

في عهد الامام  
المستنصر بالله امير  
المؤمنين لله

Margin, illegible

The incidental details of the legends restrict the assignment of this piece to one of *two* individuals, the eldest or the youngest son of Altamsh, the latter of whom was authoritatively designated by the identical name and title of Násir-ud dín Mahmúd,<sup>1</sup> in 626 A.H., after the decease of his brother, the cherished heir apparent to the newly-established Muslim empire in the East. The introduction of the formula, "during the reign of (the Khalif) Al Mos-

سلال اسلام ناصر الدين مسعود حاجي وارث اسما ونهاي  
ت 201 ہ بلىت و نام پرست مسٹرس گردابیدر، تابات ۳۵۴-۴، ۱۹۱

tansir billah," on the reverse, limits the ultimate date of the possible issue of the coin, not so much to the fifth month of the year A H 640, when that Pontiff died, but with clear local effect to A H 641, when the knowledge of his death was officially declared by the substitution of a new name in the mintages of the capital of Hindustán<sup>1</sup>.

The younger son, who was destined eventually to succeed to the throne of his father at Dehli, in A H 644, after the intervening reigns of Rukn ud dín Firuz Sháh, Rizáih, Muizz ud-dín Bahram Sháh, and Alá ud dín Mas'aud Sháh, in all however, extending only over a space of eleven years posterior to the death of Altamsh, must, under these conditions, have been but of tender years, and, though, at this juncture, promoted to the titular honours of an elder brother, in no position to exercise authority in his own person, and still less likely to have had medallic tribute paid to him by his father, should such motives be suggested in reference to the unique specimen under review. To the first born, Násir ud dín Mahmud, no such objections apply—he was very early invested by his sire with the administration of the important government of Lahor, and in A H 623 advanced to the higher charge of the dependencies of Oudh, from which *quasi* outpost he was called upon to proceed against Hisam ud dín 'Awz (No. 4 in the list of Governors, p. 8), who had already achieved a very complete independence in the province of Bengal. Here his arms were fortuitously, but not the less effectually successful so that he had honours thrust upon him even to the Red Umbrella and its attendant dignities,<sup>2</sup> whatever the exact

<sup>1</sup> Silver coins of Alá ud-dín Mas'aud, *msfrd*

<sup>2</sup> His title is usually limited by Minháj us Siráf to *ك* (pp. 177, 181, 201) but on one occasion *ل* crops out incidentally in the Court list, where, in his place among the sons of the Emperor Altamsh, he is so designated (p. 178)

measure of power these heraldic insignia carried with them. He was, moreover, specially associated with the Pontifical recognition of the Indian empire, and was permitted to share the *Khil'ats* (or robes of investiture) forwarded on the occasion from Baghdad.

I should prefer, therefore, to attribute the issue of this piece to the close of his career: the lowest range of the date, as its legend declares in indirect terms, is antecedent to 641 A.H., but the technical and manipulative treatment of the crude Kufic epigraph brings it into close connexion with many of the introductory specimens of the Imperial Mint, and the tenor of the legend equally removes it from the terms of the later phraseology imported into the Dehli series. We have seen that there was some confusion as to the correct orthography of the name of the Khalif on the coins of Altamsh (Nos. 29, 30), in the irregular addition of  $\text{الله}$  and  $\text{بامر الله}$  to the name of Mustansir; but the introductory coin No. 28 defines the title simply as  $\text{امير المؤمنين}$  "Al Mustansir, Commander of the Faithful," a definition which is adhered to on the money of Rizáh and her successors. In this particular the present specimen follows the exceptional example of some of Altamsh's coins, No. 30, and appends to the name the ultimately discarded  $\text{الله}$ . The imperfect arrangement of the legend, necessitating a filling-in of the vacant space, at the conclusion of the ordinary sentence, with an extraneous word, also identifies the piece with Altamsh's tentative issues, and the caligraphic conjunction of the initial *l alif* with the body of the succeeding *J lám* in  $\text{بام}$  indicates the teaching of a similar school of die engravers, which is rendered more marked by the insertion of so many short vowels, a practice which was not long persevered in.

The adjunct of "Sháh" after the name of the prince,<sup>1</sup> and the abstinence from the use of the title of *Sultán* at this point, is suggestive, as also is the tenor of the final سلطان بن in lieu of the imperial سلطان بن, which may possibly refer to the still current employment of the simple سلطان of the days of his more humble pretensions, to be seen on so many of the father's coins, pl. i. figs. 20, 23.

### ALTAMSH'S ALIEN CONTEMPORARIES on INDIAN SOIL

The alien intruders upon Indian territories, whether kings or generals, who have left numismatic evidence of their presence in or near the dominions of Altamsh, number no less than seven.<sup>2</sup> Their careers can scarcely be made to follow

<sup>1</sup> Násir ud din Mahmúd, the second son of the then ruling Emperor, is called by his own special biographer, Mínháj us Síráj,

سلطان المظہم ناصر الدین محمد بن سلطان

(pp. 9, 177, 178, 201, etc.), which is in contrast to the nominal adjunct so constant with his predecessors, Firuz Sháh, Bahrám Sháh, Mas'áid Sháh. On one occasion only does the additional Sháh appear in a substituted list of Altamsh's court (p. 178), where the text gives—1 Sultán Násir ud din. 2 Sultán Násir ud din Mahmúd, and at the end, after the name of Rukn ud din Firuz Sháh, comes "Násir ud-din Mahmúd Sháh."

<sup>2</sup> William Erskine, in his latest work on "Báber and Humáyún" (London 1854), gives a summary of the various Mongol and Túrkí tribes, and their early seals which has an important bearing on the successive invasions of India.

"The tribes which we include under the name of Tatar (properly 'Tatár'), consist chiefly of three great divisions or races, all differing from each other in manners, institutions, and language. 1. The Tunguses and Manchús in the east of Asia, north of China. 2. The Mongols, or, as they are called by the Persians and Indians, the Moghuls, who occupy chiefly the middle portion north of Tibet, nearly as far west as Terfán, and part of the desert between that and Yark, and 3. The Túrks, who for many centuries have possessed large regions that extend on the west of the Mongols from the desert of Kobi, having for their southern boundary the mountains of Káshghar and Pámer, Khorásán, the Caspian and Black Sea, the Don and Wolga on the west, and Siberia on the north. But some few tribes, both of Mongols and of Túrks, are to be found in the limits thus

any very exact sequence, but the general order of their action on the history of Hindustán will perhaps be sufficiently preserved in the arrangement now adopted

- I Taj ud din Ilduz, already noticed, p 24
- II Alá ud-dín Muhammad *Khárizmí*
- III Jalál ud din Mankbarán
- IV Changíz Khán
- V. Hasan Karlagh
- VI Uzbeg Pat
- VII Násir ud din Kubachah of Sind

The dynasty of the Khanzíman kings, from their first dawn of independence to their last scion, the heroic Jalál ud-dín, is as follows —

|                                                         | A. H. | COMMEMORATED A. D. |
|---------------------------------------------------------|-------|--------------------|
| 1 Kutb-ud-dín Muhammad bin Anushtagan,                  | 491   | 9th Dec 1097       |
| 2 Jalál ud din Atsiz (أَسْرَى)                          | 521   | 17th Jan 1127      |
| 3 Táj ud din El Arslan (أَبْلَى أَرْسَلَانْ) bin Atsiz, | 551   | 25th Feb 1156      |
| 4 Sultan Sháh bin El Arslan                             | 567   | 4th Sept 1172      |
| 5 Ala ud din Abu l Mu-ássír Takash bin El Arslán        | 589   | 7th Jan 1193       |
| 6 Ala ud dín Abu l Fath Muhammad, bin Takash            | 596   | 23rd Oct 1199      |
| 7 Jalál ud dín Mankbarán, bin Ala ud-dín Muhammad       | 617   | 8th Mar 1220       |

marked out as peculiarly belonging to their respective ranges. The Turks are the most extensive and numerous of the three races (vol. i p 9 10)

Alá ud-dín's troops were chiefly Turkománs and Cáncahs (D Ohsson, i 196 Price, ii. 405)

<sup>1</sup> Changíz Khán's grand army was a mixed assemblage of many tribes and races. The Tátar tribe formed the advance (Erskine i. p 534)

Saif ud-dín Aghrak's forces, during his governorship of Pesháwar in 617 A. H. were composed of Khoullandjés (Arabs) and Turkománs. Yámin Malik's troops, the same period, were Túrk "Cáncahs" —D Ohsson, i 299, 300 303

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Asir *Admíl Al-Máridíká*, Tornberg's Arabic text, p 103 Frehn Num. Muham. 145 and *Opuscula postum*, by Dorn, 1855 pp 58, 252 Price, Mahom medan Hist ii. p 399 *Petit de la Croix*

Coins of *Ala ud din Muhammad bin Takash*

No 61 Gold Weight, 65 grs size, 6 Ghazni A.H. 623<sup>1</sup>  
 India Museum Similar to Muhammad bin Sam's coin No 1  
 Fréchn Recensio pp 145, 595 Ariana Antiqua pl xx fig 28

الله الا الله  
 محمد رسول الله  
 الاصغر لدنس الله  
 امسير المؤمن

Margin—Kurán Surah ix 33,  
 and lxi 9

السلطان الاعظم

علالدسا والدنس

اسوالقفع محمد

بن السلطان

سم الله صرف Margin

هذا الدسأر سلدة عربه في شبور

سنه ثلاث عشره وستمائة

The silver coins of this Sultán of which there are three varieties of types scarcely affect the series of Indian issues beyond the monogrammatic record of the ancient Mint of Perwan<sup>2</sup> whose proximate silver mines contributed so much to the currencies of the south. The mixed silver and copper coins on the other hand are strangely identified with the early traditions of the Kábul Brahmans and show how firmly

<sup>1</sup> Other dates Ghazni 614 616 617 A.H. Badakhshán (undated) J.R.A.S. xvii 20<sup>a</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Perwan lat. 35° 9' long 69° 16' J.R.A.S. ix p 391 and pp 257 301 2-3 xvii pp 184 186 200 201 Between Jánána and Panjhir are the mines of ore, in which the people dwell without gardens, orchards or tilled lands — Onsley p 225 Etakne's Baber pp 139 146 Masson i 166

Yakut gives more full information as to the produce of these mines. ' L'argent y est dit-on, si abondant qu'une seule botte de légumes coûte un drachme. La mine est au sommet d'une montagne qui domine la ville et cette montagne à force d'avoir été creusée, ressemble à une vaste grotte — La Perse M. B de Meynard. Paris 1861 p 116

the dominant heraldic device held its own, both among their own home tribes for succeeding generations, and equally received acceptance from so many foreign invaders of the soil

No 62 Copper Weight, 68 grs

OBVERSE

Horseman in *Tughra*, to the left

Legend arranged in vacant corners of the general device

السلطان الاعظم علاء الدين والدين



REVERSE  
Bull in *Tughra*

أبو الفتح  
محمد بن  
السلطان

Some specimens have outer margins with سُمْ الله، etc

No 63 Variety No 10, plate and No 56, page 203, J R A S  
xvii, Prinsep's Essays, pl xxxiii. fig 2

Obverse—Horseman in *Tughra*

Reverse—Full front face in *Tughra*

The palpable and obvious legends usually inserted in the vacant spaces around the leading device are seemingly omitted in this specimen, but on closer examination the flowing lines of the figure of the Horseman are seen to be composed of crypto-writing, arranged with considerable skill, so that an ordinary observer would scarcely detect the departure from the standard design of the earlier mintages. It is more difficult, however, to say what *is* and what *is not* designed to be conveyed in this elaborate monogram,<sup>1</sup> but I fancy that I am

<sup>1</sup> These cyphers or monogrammatic enigmas found much favour with the Turks as may be seen in the Ottoman Sultan's complicated *Tughras* composing the ordinary central device of the currency of Constantinople. The earliest example, in this series is that of Urkhán bin Usmán A.H. 726 (Marsden No 379). The *Tughra* or monogram of سلطان بن ابراهيم حاں (A.H. 1099) is described by Marsden "as produced by a fanciful distortion of the characters that express the name" (p. 404).

able to trace a considerable portion of the authorized Muhammadan *Kalimah* ﷺ رسول ﷺ<sup>1</sup>

On the reverse is to be seen a most eccentric Chinese-looking pattern, which resolves itself, on examination, into a full-front human face. The Arabic word *لَهُ* occupies the vacant space on the forehead, while the eyebrows, nose, and cheek-bones are formed after the composite design of a strung bow, with the arrow in position pointing downwards, its forked point representing the nostrils. Two simple dots below the bow-string, one on either side of the arrow, answering for the eyes, complete the picture. Traces of Kufic

<sup>1</sup> My comments, in 1858, on a parallel piece, were to the following effect —

"In the absence of the coin itself, it would be rash to speculate upon the true purport of this obverse, or the tenor or language of the partially-visible legend. The reverse figure of the horseman, however, offers tempting material for the exercise of analytical ingenuity

"That the lines of which the device is composed were originally designed to convey, in more or less intelligible cypher, some Moslem formula, there can be little question. How much latitude in the definite expression of the letters was conceded to the needful artistic assimilation to the normal type, it may be difficult to say. But, though I should hesitate to pretend that my eye could follow the several letters of the full *Kalimah* of ﷺ رسول ﷺ, I have no doubt that those words are covertly embodied in the lines forming portions of the general outline. The Kufic *لَهُ* is palpable, when reading upwards from the front of the butt end of the spear, portions of the *رسول* may be traced along the spear itself, and the rest may be imagined under the reasonable latitude already claimed, and, lastly, the *الله* may be conceded in virtue of its very obvious final *ه*, which appears over the horse's hind-quarters

"The practice of reticulating words and names into device embellishments for the coinage was in high favour with the Sāmāni mint-masters, and we have numerous instances of a similar tendency among the Muhammadan races who succeeded to much of the civilization of the Bukhārā empire, with the modified boundaries or altered seats of government, incident to their progress towards the richer provinces of the south. To confine myself to a single exemplification, however, I may cite the Ghaznāvi (Lāhor) currency, with the recumbent Bull in Tughra on the obverse, and with a Kufic legend on the reverse. In the lines of this ancient and revered Hindū device may here be read, in all facility and in two several directions, the name of the prophet of the Arabs, *لَهُ* — Prinsep's Essays, pl. xxxiii. fig. 2



No. 69. Silver and copper Small coin, Dehlíwal form

OBVERSE

السلطان

علالدینیا

الدین سکدر

الثاني

REVERSE.

The usual Indian type of  
Horseman to the right.

Traces of स्त्री हसीरः

No 70 Variety, in copper. Engraved as No. 8, pl. xx  
Ariana Antiqua

Other varieties of Alá-ud-dín Muhammad's coinage, to which it is unnecessary to refer in detail, bear the names of the mints of زمـن دـاـور Zamindáwar, هـرـأـة Hirát, Parshor (Pesháwar), طـالـقـان Tálkán, and سـفـورـقـان Sufírkán (Shubbergán). See J.R.A.S. xvii. p. 203, etc.

Coins of Jalál-ud-dín Mankbarnin.<sup>1</sup>

No 71. Silver Weight, 47 grs Unique. Masson collection  
E I. Museum.

OBVERSE..

حـلـالـ الدـيـا

وـالـدـيـنـ مـسـكـرـنـ

بـنـ السـلـطـانـ

REVERSE

الـنـاصـرـ

لـدـيـنـ اللـهـ

امـيرـ الـمـوـمـنـينـ

<sup>1</sup> Almost all the Oriental authorities concur in writing this name as *Mankbarni*, and D Ohsson explains its meaning under that transcription as *Mangou*, "l'eternal," *birîf ou vîrdî*, "donné."—Dieu-donné, 1. 195. The final consonant, in the name, then on this coin is absolutely identical in form with the terminal letters of دـيـنـ and بـنـ. The direction of the letters is سـلـطـانـ and المـوـمـنـينـ. There are, however, no dots, and the last syllable pl. xxxiii. 8g نـ, possibly be intended for نـ, which compromise I have adopted throughout.

No. 72. Silver and copper. Weight, 45 grs. Rare.

OBVERSE—Horseman to the left, in broad lines.

REVERSE—Legend in square Monumental Kufic جلال... لا... .

No. 73. Silver and copper. Weight, 44 grs.

OBVERSE—Horseman to the left, treated more after the Indian style.

Traces of स्त्री, etc.

REVERSE—In ordinary Persian letters,

السلطان الاعظم جلال الدين والدين

Coins of Jalál-ud-dín Mankbarnin (minted in India).

No. 74. Silver and Copper. Weight, 54 grs.

Horseman.

Bull.

श्री हमीरः

स्त्री जलालदीन

Sri Hamirah.

Sri Jaláladin.

N.B.—I had some doubts, in early days, as to whether these coins should be preferably attributed to *Rislah*, *Jalál-ud-dín Firúz*, or to *Jalál-ud-dín Khárizm Shdh.* I have now definitely fixed upon the latter assignment on more exact Palaeographic grounds, in addition to the arguments already brought forward against the claim of *Firúz* upon the typical evidence.—*Patán Sultáns*, 1st edition, p. 30.

No. 75. Copper.

OBVERSE.

REVERSE.

السلطان

منكيرن

الاعظم

بن السلطان

OBVERSE—Dotted margin within double lines.

REVERSE—Dotted margin inside a single circle.

Coins of Changiz Khán.

No. 76. Silver. Weight, 47 grs. Rare. India Museum.

العادل

الناصر

الاعظم

لدين الله

جنكز خان

امير المؤمنين



No 77. Silver and copper. Weight, 63 grs.

(Similar in treatment.)

عدل

خاقان

الاعظم

Same legend

No 78. Copper. Kurmán.

عدل خاقان

الاعظم

کرمان

Similar legend.

The name of کرمان is written in precisely the same combined form as that in use on the later coins of Alá-ud-dín; that is to say, with the end of the *ج* run into the succeeding *م*.

### *Saif-ud-dín Hasan Karlagh.*

Saif-ud-dín Hasan Karlagh,<sup>1</sup> one of the leading generals of Jalál-ud-dín Mankbarnin, was left in charge of the dependencies of Ghor and Ghazní by that Monarch on his departure

<sup>1</sup> Lorsque Ogouz fils de Cara-khan . . . était en guerre avec ses parents . . . il triompha de ses ennemis, conquit plusieurs pays, et devint un monarque puissant. Il convoqua, pour lors, une assemblée générale, où il témoigna sa satisfaction à ses parents, à ses officiers et à ses troupes, et donna à ceux de sa famille que l'avaient secouru, le nom d'Ouïgoz<sup>2</sup>, qui veut dire, en turc, allié, auxiliaire. Ce nom demeura à tous leurs descendants, quoique, dans la suite, diverses circonstances leur aient fait donner des noms particuliers, comme ceux de Corloucs, Colladjes, Kiptchacs, etc.; mais le nom générique d'Ouigours ne leur en est pas moins resté.—D Ohsson (quoting the Jam'i ul Tuwârikh), l. 436. On compte encore parmi les branches des Ogouzes 1, Les Ouigours, 2, les Cancalis, 3, les Kiptchacs, 4, les Carlouks, 5, les Colladjes, et 6, les Agatcheris. Ces nations turques habitent la partie occidentale de l'Asie centrale. Le territoire de Ouigours s'étendait jusqu'aux monts Altai, à l'est de cette chaîne on trouvait des peuples qui appartenaient, les uns, à la race turque, les autres, à la race tatare ou mongole (l. p. 423-4).

from India, en route for Irák, in A.H. 620.<sup>1</sup> He is noticed casually by Minháj us Siráj about the year A.H. 624, as securing his possessions from the plundering Moghuls of Oktai, by coming to terms with the invaders,<sup>2</sup> and he seems to have been able to hold his own, in an uncertain way, till A.H. 636, when the Moghul advance in force finally drove him down towards Sind and Multán.<sup>3</sup> This occurred during the reign of Rizíyah, and his eldest son seems to have been deputed to attend the court of that Queen, where he was received with distinction, and complimented with the charge of the dis-

<sup>1</sup> The following is the Arabic text of Abulfeda relating to Hasan Karlagh, iv 384

ولما عزم جلال الدين علي العودالي جهة العراق استاب بهلوان ازبك علي ما كان يملكه من بلاد الپيد واستاب معه حسن قراق ولقبه وفا ملك وفى سة سبع وعشرين وستمائة طرد وفا ملك بهلوان ازبك واستولى وفاما لكت علي ما كان يليه البهلوان من بلاد الپيد

This is the *Hassan Carrac* of Deguignes "Lorsque Dgelaleddin eût appris que les Mogols avoient repassé le Gilhon, il vint à Lahor dans le dessein d'aller soumettre l'Eraque. Il laissa dans ses nouvelles conquêtes deux officiers, Pehlevan Uzbek et Hassan Carrac, surnommé Ouapha Moulk. Ce dernier dans la suite chassa Uzbek, et s'empara de tout ce qu'il avoit aux Indes" (1 an 827 de l' Hegire) Book xiv p 281, vol ii —D Ohsson says, "Djelal laissa à Eurbec le gouvernement de ses possessions dans l'Inde, et à Vesa-Mélik, celui des pays de Gour et de Ghazna (620 A.H.)" iii. p 4

<sup>2</sup> Tabakát-i-Nasiri (Calcutta text) p 388

ملک سیف الدین حس قرلع رحمة الله عليه چند کرت چون دید که استیلای کفاررا جز طریق خدمت دفع نمیتوان کرد نا ایشان بوجه خدمت پیش ناز آمد و شیخگان قبول کرد

*Khidmat* is here used in the sense of tribute, as in the recognised *Khudmatna*, etc. شیخگان is a word the derivation of which is not quite clear, but the meaning here seems to refer to "receivers" or collectors, rather than to Praetors, or "the Police," as Johnson interprets the term شیخی.

<sup>3</sup> Tabakát-i-Nasiri, p 392.

district of Baran (now Bulandshahr), shortly afterwards he disappeared, with little ceremony, and rejoined his father. Saif-ud-dín Karlagh was eventually killed, during this same year, at the siege of Multán, by a troop d'élite of Eiz-ud-dín Balban, *Kishlu Khán*, the governor of Uchh<sup>1</sup> and Multán, on

<sup>1</sup> As the town of Uchh has of late sunk into obscurity, I quote a brief account of its monuments from a description of Uch-Sharif, in 1836, by *Munshi Mohan Lal* — "Uch, surnamed *Uch Sharif*, or holy *Uch* (lat 31° 12', long 72° 3'), which, being near the junction of the united streams Hesudrus, Hyphasis, and Hydaspes, attracts the notice of geographers, contains numerous sepulchres of the Muhammadan saints. The oldest of all is that of *Shah Saif ul Haqqari*. A miserable wall without the roof environs the dust of the above saint. If I write the respective names of the saints of *Uch*, along with their incredible miracles, I fear to enlarge my remarks, however, I presume to lay before you the endeavours of my feeble pen in regard to *Shah Siad Jalal* and his reputed descendants. He died 600 years ago, and is said to have lived to the age of 150. His tomb, which is inside a large but gloomy room, is elevated about five spans from the surface of the ground. It is a very simple building, adorned with the poor, frail and old canopy. Both of his sides have ten graves of his offspring. They are distinguished by one rising above the other, which fill the entire position of the room. None of them have any kind of inscription."

"The tomb where the body of the *Makhdum* rests is a very poor structure, but raised about seven feet high from the ground, which is concealed by numerous other graves. There is nothing admirable in the shrine of the *Makhdum*. Three small openings give light inside the apartment. The following Persian inscription, written on the door, presents us with the date of the *Makhdum*'s death

تاریکت گشت جملہ حبیان بیجمال شاد

تاریخ بود دهشت مدد و دشتاد و پنجم سال

"When the world was covered by darkness without the countenance of the *Shah* (or *Makhdum*) The date was 785 of the *Hijri* era."

"The mausoleum of *Makhdum Jahan Gasht* is annually visited by the pilgrims of the distant country. It is very odd that the tombs of the saints of the holy *Uch*, who possessed such boundless reputation and respect in days of old, have been not adorned with any kind of architectural beauty, either by their posterity or believers, except that of 'Bibi Jind Vadi,' (or the lady of the long life). It is situate on the verge of a precipice, which commands the old bed of the *Punjab* rivers, and gives a romantic view. The southern part of this magnificent sepulchre has been unfortunately swept away by the late inundations. The door opens towards the East, and has a sight of the other two cupolas. They excel in material and handsomeness the others of *Uch*, except that of 'Bibi Jind Vadi.' 'Bibi Jind Vadi' was one of the descendants of *Shah Siad Jalal*,

the part of Riziah. Saif-ud-dín's generals, however, having succeeded in concealing the fact of his death, were able to secure the surrender of the town.<sup>1</sup>

*Saif-ud-dín Al-Hasan Karlagh.*

• No 79. *Silver.* Weight, 169.5 grs (Six specimens E. India Collection.) A.H. 633, 634.



لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ

سِيف

مُحَمَّدُ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ

الدُّنْيَا وَالدِّين

الْمُسْتَقْرِرُ بِاللَّهِ

ابْرَاهِيمُ الْمُطْفَرُ الْحَسَنُ

أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ

قَرْلَغْ

Dotted margin . . . . .

هَذِهِ الدِّرْهَمُ مِنْ شَبُور—Margin—

سَنَةِ ثَلَاثَتِ وَثَلَاثِينَ وَسَعْمَادِ

These coins are apparently Camp Mintages, as they bear no trace of the name of a Mint city: in their weight and general outline they seem to have been imitations of Altamsh's new currency

of whom I have already spoken. The dome in which she sleeps is erected of burnt bricks, which are cemented by mortar. The whole of the edifice is ornamented by various hues and lapis lazuli of the celebrated mines of *Badaikshā*. The size of this grand building may be estimated at about 50 feet high, and the circumference 25".

<sup>1</sup> *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, p. 270

|                                                        |                                   |
|--------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| No 80 Copper (or mixed copper and silver) <sup>1</sup> |                                   |
| Rajput                                                 | رس                                |
| Horseman                                               | الدسا والدس                       |
| with ओ हमोर                                            | او المطغر الحس                    |
| <i>Sri Hamirah</i>                                     | قرلے                              |
| Silver and copper                                      | Coin in the East India Collection |
| Rajput                                                 | (رس)                              |
| Horseman                                               | الدسا والدیس                      |
| Traces of                                              | او المطغر الحس                    |
| स्थी हमोर                                              | دیوبند                            |

If this coin is correctly attributed, it would prove that Hasan Karlagh's father's name was Muhammad

No 82 The most curious coins of Hasan Karlagh, however, are those of the "Bull and Horseman" type, with Hindu legends, which follow the model of the *Dehliurâlas* of Kubâchah of Sind. The name is oddly expressed, and the letters themselves are peculiar in their forms, but I have little doubt that the correct reading of the legend is as follows

श्री हसन कुरला *Sri Hasan Kurla*

These coins, I believe, have never either been figured or published. They are common enough, as I have some six of them in my own limited collection.

<sup>1</sup> These are the coins entitled *Dehliwâls*, following on to the previous models of Nasir ud dîn Kubâchah of Sind — *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xx. 19. Prussep's *Essays*, pl. xxvi. 47.

<sup>2</sup> After the above descriptive details of the coins of Hasan Karlugh and his son Muhammad had been set up in type I discovered that General Cunningham had already put upon record in his Archaeological Report to the Government of

*Nasir-ud-din Muhammad bin Hasan Karlagh*

I anticipate the due order of epochal sequence, in order to dispose of the coins of Hasan Karlagh's son in immediate connection with those of his father

India (1863-4), certain speculations upon the attribution of these pieces, which are in many respects so opposed to my own deductions as to make me desire that the General should state his case in his own words, without further comment on my part, beyond a momentary expression of dissent from the association of the Bilingual coins of *Adusr-ud-din* (Ariac Ant. 432. Prinsep's Essays, 1. 37, pl. ii. 14), with the other specimens, which, on paleographical grounds, I should be disposed to sever, both in time and locality, from the rest of the crude Sindian issues

"The first invasion of Indo Scythians must have caused a very general displacement of the ruling races. The vanquished would naturally have sought refuge in the less accessible districts around, and to this period, therefore, I would refer the settlement of the *Awans* and *Jayyuhas* in the Salt Range to the south, and of the *Gahars* in the hilly tracts of Pharwala and Dangali to the north east

"Of their subsequent history but little is recorded, we know only that they were divided into several branches, and that they had all become Muhammadans. In the time of Bâber, the ruling tribe, called the *Karluk Hâdras*, held the districts on both banks of the lower Suban River, under their chiefs Sangar Khan Karluk and Murza Malvi Karluk. At a still earlier period the chiefs of this tribe, Hasan Karluk and his son Muhammad, had asserted their independence by striking coins in their own names. The coins of the father are of the well known 'Bull and Horseman' type, with the legend in Nâgari letters, 'Sri Hasan Karluk'. The coins of the son are of three different kinds, two with Persian characters only, and the third with Persian on one side and Nâgari on the other. On the last coin there is a rude figure of a horse surrounded by the chief's name, *Adusr ud dunid ws ud din*, in Persian letters, and on the reverse his name in three lines of Nâgari letters, *Sri Muhammad Karluk*. On one of the Persian coins this chief calls himself *Muhammad bin Hasan Karluk* (سیدنی حسن کارلک), and on the other he takes the titles of *ul Malik ul Mua'zam Muhammad bin Hasan*. From the types and general appearance of these coins their date may be fixed with certainty as coeval with those of Altamish and his sons, or from A.D. 1210 to 1265. The accuracy of this date is strongly confirmed by Ferishtah's account of the first campaign of Nâser ud-din Mahmûd, the youngest son of Altamish. In July, A.D. 1247, Mahmûd proceeded to Multân, and then to the bank of the Chenâb, from whence he sent his Vazir towards the mountains of Jod and the provinces on the Indus

According to this account, the rebellion lasted for about twelve years, from the death of Altamish, in A.D. 1230, until the close of Mahmûd's campaign in the end of 1247. It is to this period that I refer the assumption of independence by Hasan Karluk and his son Muhammad. The age of the coins, as I have observed, corresponds exactly with the date of this rebellion and the coins themselves before are found in greatest number in the rebellious districts of the mountains of Jod" (pp. 8, 9)

There is little to be gathered concerning the history of Násir-ud-dín Muhammad, the son of Hasan Karlagh. He seems to have succeeded to his father's dominions in Sind, and to have been held in consideration as a powerful monarch<sup>1</sup>. He was still reigning on the arrival of the Ambassadors of Húlágú Khán in A.H. 658<sup>2</sup>.

*Násir-ud-dín Muhammad bin Hasan Karlagh*

No 83 Copper Weight, 53 grs. Coarse Persian legends covering the entire surfaces of the coin

|       |        |
|-------|--------|
| محمد  | ناصر   |
| س حسن | الدیار |
| فری   | الدین  |

No 84 Copper Weight, 46 grs. Small coin, with dotted margin<sup>3</sup>, similar to the pieces of Jalál-ud-dín (No 47, J R A S p 383, vol ix) and Changiz Khán (p 385, ibid.)

|      |        |
|------|--------|
| محمد | الملک  |
| حسن  | المعظم |

*Uzbeg Pásh, Commandant in India, on the part of Jalál-ud-dín Mankbarin*

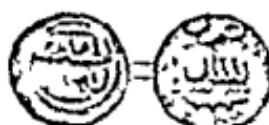
General Cunningham, who, in the course of his official duties, was once permanently stationed at Multán, secured, during his residence at that ancient city, among many other local curiosities, some small coins hitherto unassigned, which, in spite of a somewhat unorthodox orthography, I am in-

<sup>1</sup> *Trans. I. A. S.*, p 320.

چون ملک ناصر الدین محمد یکی از ملک امدادار غیر خود بود  
جیسا کہ *Uzbeg Pásh* کی *Trans. I. A. S.*, p 316-321  
<sup>2</sup> *Trans. I. A. S.*, p 379.

clined to appropriate to Uzbeg Pai,<sup>1</sup> the commandant associated with Hasan Karlagh on Jalál-ud-din's departure from India. They may be described as follows:—

No. 85. Silver and copper (or copper?) Weight, 25 grs.  
(2 specimens)



Circular area

بَصَقْ

بَشِّي

"Kusbat Pai"<sup>2</sup>

Marginal legend defaced

Square area, with dotted lines  
and dotted margin.

فَرْس

مَلَان

"Struck at Multán."

#### SUMMARY OF THE EVENTS OF THE REIGN OF KUBÁCHAH<sup>3</sup>

A.H. 600 Appointed to the Government of Uchh by Mu'izz ud din, shortly after his defeat at Andkhod; takes possession of the entire country from Sirhind, Kohram, and Sursuti, to Daibal and the sea; and assumes the ensigns of royalty.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See ante, p. 93, and Elliot's *Historians*, II, pp. 395 G, 554, 563.

<sup>2</sup> پَلْجَيْ فَرْس "Farsi," is quite worthless.

<sup>3</sup> The derivation of this name, or rather *laksh*, or nickname, is uncertain. Taking it as coming from لَحْ, "coat, cloak, or jacket," it would mean "small or short tunic," possibly a *postin* (پُوستِن), but if we are to accept the *Hind* transcription of Kubáchah, it would answer to "rather fat," "plump."

<sup>4</sup> The *Tuhfat ul Kirám* (A.H. 1188) gives the following details regarding the tributaries of Kubáchah:—"During the reign of Arám Sháh his dominions were parcelled into four divisions one of which, comprising Multán, the whole of Sind and Uchh, became subject to Násir-ud-din Kubáchah. At that time the following seven Ráhás in Sind were tributary to Multán—1. Ráhá Buhnar Si ta Ráther, of Dabra, in the district of Durbela, 2. Ráhá Sanir, son of Dhambú, of the tribe of

A H 613 Láhor taken by Shams ud dín Altamsh, who appoints his eldest son, Nasir ud dín Mahmúd, to the charge Kubá chah encounters the troops of Taj-ud dín Ilduz, and is defeated Many celebrated personages take refuge at his Court Jalal ud dín defeated on the Indus, in Rajab, 618 A H He subsequently enters Sind, and his general, Uzbeg Paf, overcomes Kubáchah near Uchh

,, 621 The Mughals under *Tulı Nowín* besiege Multán for forty days

,, 623 Army of Khiljis, under *Malik Khán Khilj*, invade Man-surah and Sehwan Kubáchah routs them

,, 624 Minhaj us Siraj, the future author of the *Tabakat-i-Násiri*, arrives at the Court of Kubáchah at Uchh

,, 624 Rabí'ul awwal, Shams ud dín, presents himself before Uchh Kubachah is besieged in the Fort of Bhakar

,, 625 (27, Jumad ul awwal), Uchh surrenders (Jumad al Akhir), Bhakar taken Kubáchah drowns himself<sup>1</sup>

No 86 Silver and copper, with a large proportion of silver  
Weight, 50 grs

86a Silver and copper, the copper predominating Weight, 53 grs  
For engravings see *Arrana Antiqua*, Prinsep's Essays, xxvi 28, 29,  
Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol iv pl xxxvii 28, 29

HORSEMAN

स्त्री हमीरः

*Sri Hamirah*

Subordinate Mint mark below  
the Horseman *o*

BULL

स्त्री कुवाचा सुरिता

*Sri Kubdcha Suristán*

At times, when space will allow,  
the final ए is duly inserted

Kureja Samma, residing in Túng Iyung within the district of Répáh, 3 Jaisar, son of Jajji Machhi Solanki, of Mániktara, 4 Wakia, son of Pannún Channún, who was established in the valley of Siwi, 5 Channán, son of Dita, of the tribe of Channa, resident at Bhág nai, 6 Jiya, son of Wariáh, of Jham, or Hemakot, 7 Jasadhan Akra, of Min nager district of Bámbarwá. — Elliot's *Historians* i 310.

<sup>1</sup> Minhaj us Siraj, Persian text, pp. 142, etc., *Taj ul Maásir*, MS., Elliot's *Historians*, i 310, n pp. 155, 201, 233, 241, 281, 302 325, 396, 554, 563, Desgagnes, i 414, "Cobah", D Ohason, iii 4, "Caredja".

These coins seem to be direct imitations of the original *Dehlwálas*; they vary in the apparent quality of the metal, from nearly pure silver to a very close approach to simple copper, in the same way that the composite pieces of Altamsh exemplify the prevailing system of giving effect to the gradational values of the public money, by the mere modification of the proportions of silver and copper assigned to each division of the currency, without any corresponding alteration in the weight, form, or stamp of the discriminated pieces, or any indication calculated to guide the trader beyond the mere glint and superficial touch of the coin tendered.

Kubáchah's circulating media seem to have been exclusively confined to this species of coin, which, though possibly minted according to the varying boundaries of his dominions, from Sirhind to Bhakar, are invariably termed *Dehlwálas* (دہلیوال), and evidently constituted the only coined money in ordinary use, as we find his son, 'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad, presenting Altamsh with ten million *Dehlwálas* as a peace-offering; and when the contents of Kubáchah's treasury came to be examined by his conquerors, they are reported to have found the large sum of fifty million pieces ("500 laks") of this description of money.

No. 87. Silver and copper. Weight, 50 grs.  
For illustrations see Ariana Antiqua, pl. xx. 19; Prinsep's Essays, pl. xxvi. 47; J.A.S. Bengal, iv. pl. xxxvii. 47.

HORSEMAN.

With the local form of

स्त्री हस्तीरः

Below the Horse there is occasionally a small device, varying from O to the star, so frequent on the parallel Ilduz series.

ناصر

الدنيا والديين

قباجانه

السلطان

Dotted margin.

<sup>1</sup> M.S. Táj ul Maásir; Elliot's Historians, ii 242, Prinsep's Essays, i 326.

The Hindi legends on these bilingual coins are marked by several peculiarities in the outlines of the letters, which remove them from eastern sites and the normal style of writing current in Dehli and Ajmir, and associate them more directly with the proximate localities of Sind and the lower Punjab. The *q b* is formed like a modern *q p*, with a dot in its centre, the *ch ch* is similar to an ordinary Bengali *q b*, in which respect it accords with Cháhar Deva's Ajmir type of the letter. The *q h* in the *Hamirah* follows the fashion of the Gupta Inscription at Allahabad, and reverses the ordinary turn of the lower limb of the letter.

#### FIFTH KING (A.H. 633-634, A.D. 1235-1236)

Rukn ud din Firuz Sháh, after having been exercised in the duties of government during his father's lifetime, at Budaon (625 A.H.) and Lahor (630 A.H.), became heir apparent on the decease of his elder brother, Nasir-ud din Mahmud, in 626 A.H., and finally succeeded to the *masnad* in Sh'aban, 633 A.H. His brief reign of six months and twenty-eight days, marked only by his indulgence in low tastes and debaucheries, may be said to have been altogether barren of public events, with the exception of the various coalitions of the nobles, organized to defeat the intrigues and cruelties of the Queen Mother (Sháh Turkan), which directly led to the Sultán's dethronement.

The Persian coins of this king are rare, engravings were given in my original work on the Pathán Kings (see pl. 1 Nos 24, 25, 26), but the attribution of the pieces was confessed to be uncertain. New examples, however, have fully confirmed the assignment then proposed, and enable me to

السلطان المعظم رکن الدين من السلطان  
improve the previous reading from the following, which is taken from one of Col  
Guthrie's coins

|                     |                   |                |
|---------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| No 88               | Silver and copper | Weight, 50 grs |
| •                   |                   |                |
| Horseman            |                   | السلطان        |
| With traces of      |                   | الامبراطور     |
| स्त्री हमीर         |                   | الدسا والدين   |
| <i>Sri Hammirah</i> |                   |                |

The المعلم of the earlier described coins is quite correct, the Sultan, like his father before him, having advanced his honorary title رکن الدين من may be authoritatively corrected into the usual الدسا والدين I am now also able to cite specimens of Rukn-ud din's *Hindi* currency

No 89 Silver and copper Weight, 51 grs Very rare  
Stewart collection B M

|                     |                               |
|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| Horseman            | Bull couchant                 |
| स्त्री हमीर         | सुरिताण स्त्री रुकण दीण       |
| <i>Sri Hammirah</i> | <i>Suritan Sri Rukana din</i> |

On the *Jhul* of the Bull ||| ?

## SIXTH REIGN (A H 634-637, A D 1236-1239)

The celebrated Queen Regnant of Muhammadan India—Rizah, the daughter of Altamsh—succeeded to the possession of the capital on the fall of Shah Turkán, the mother of Rukn ud dín in the third month of A H 634. The ministers at her father's court had been scandalized at the preference he had proposed to extend to a daughter, in supercession of the claims of adult male heirs to the throne, but the Sultán justified his appointment—the execution of which was, however evaded—alike on account of the demerits of his sons, and the gifts and acquirements of his daughter, who had been brought up under a degree of freedom from the seclusion enjoined for females by the more severe custom of ordinary Muslim households aided by the advantages incident to the exalted position occupied by her mother as the chief and independently domiciled wife. The sovereignty of females it must be remembered was not altogether at variance with the ideas of the semi nomad race, whose leading court in Central Asia gave a tone to the feelings of their Muslim fellow countrymen so many of whom were now domesticated in the south. From the days of Tomyris the right to govern was admittedly open to the sex, and proximate examples were offered for Indian imitation in the persons of the two princesses of Kharizm *Mahka Turkan* (567 A H) and *Turkan Khatún*, the latter of whom held more absolute sway<sup>1</sup> than

<sup>1</sup> D Ohsson, I, 198 etc. The use of an independent seal and signet shows that there was no possible reserve in the claims put forth. The tenor of the legend of which has been preserved Son monogramme (Tougra) qu'elle écrivait de sa main sur ses ordonnances se composait de ces mots *Protectrice du monde et de*

her own son, 'Alá-ud-dín, whose outposts encircled nearly half of Asia.

Riziah's direct rise dated from the capture of the Queen Mother, so that, in effect, the transfer of dominion was from one female to another. The author of the *Tabakát-i-Násiri*, a forgiven rebel,<sup>1</sup> enlarges warmly upon the many merits and accomplishments of his Sovereign, lamenting, however, that all these excellencies should have been nullified by the single defect that the court chroniclers of the period were unable to return her birth in the list of males.<sup>2</sup>

After the brief reign of Rukn-ud-dín Firúz, who freely exemplified by his misconduct his father's prophetic reproach, Riziah succeeded in establishing her supremacy, and Eastern eyes witnessed the singular spectacle of an unveiled and diademed Empress—the first in India—directing the hosts of Islám under the canopy of the immemorial regal seat on an elephant. Riziah's early inauguration was attended with no inconsiderable danger and difficulty, arising from the opposition of the Vazír and the organized military resources of the various governors of provinces, who hesitated in conceding their allegiance. Eventually, however, to quote the expression of *Minháj us Siráj*, quiet was established throughout the empire, and Riziah's sway was acknowledged from

*la for, Turkan reine des femmes de l'univers et sa devise était "Dieu seul est mon refuge". Elle prenait le titre de Khoudarénd Díshán ou souveraine du monde".*  
See also Price, u. pp. 393, *et seq.*

<sup>1</sup> (A.H. 635). "There being no possibility of resistance, this well-wisher of the victorious government, *Minháj-i Siráj*, together with the Chief Justice of Gwalior and others, came out of the fort and proceeded to Dehlí"—Elliott's *Historians*, u. 335

<sup>2</sup> اما چون از حساب مردان در خلقت نصیب نیافرته بود ایمهه

صفات گزیده چه سودش کند Ferishtah, Briggs, i. 217. Text, p. 185

No 91 Silver and copper (Pl 1, Nos 28 and 29) Weight, 47 and 49 grs Very rare

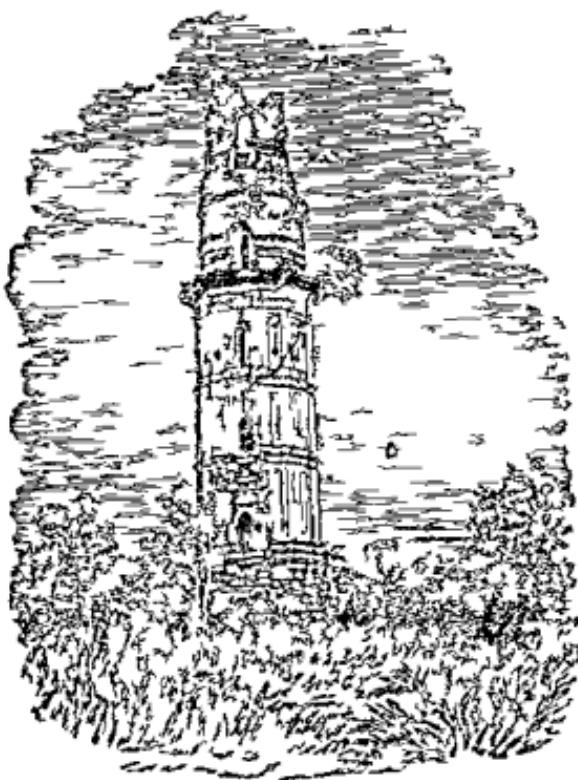
السلطان الا عظم رصدة الديما والدين—  
*Obverse*

Reverse—Horseman and Sri Hamirah

Until lately, the term Riziah was looked upon as conveying a name and not a title. The coins above quoted appear to demonstrate the contrary to be the fact. The silver medal negatively, inasmuch as it does not give Riziah as a name, and the copper coins positively, in displaying the Riziah joined to the ud dunya, etc. The Tabakat-i-Nasiri, in enumerating the names of Altamsh's family, designates her as سلطان رصى الدين، and heads the chapter of her biography with the same designation of السلطان رصدة الديما والدين.

It will be remarked that the coins give the title of Sultán in the masculine gender, whereas all the rest of the Persian legend is duly couched in the feminine. This curious affectation of the superior sex in regard to her regal position accords with the accounts of Indian writers, that "changing her natural apparel" she "assumed the imperial robes". Moreover, *Minhaj us Siraj* generally speaks of her as مادشاه (p 195).

caustic alternative of **گور**—"grave, which the often deserted site, under the speedy action of water and a semi tropical vegetation may have deservedly earned for it. But it is quite legitimate to infer that as **गोर** was the ancient name for central Bengal (Wilson, Glossary, *ab voce*, Albrecht, Reinoud, *Mem sur l Inde* p 298) and so intimately associated with the tribal divisions of the indigenous Brahmins, that the designation originated in the popular application of the name of the country to its own metropolis, and that the town continued to be called *Gaur* in vernacular speech in spite of the new names so frequently bestowed upon it by its alien lords.



MINARET AT GOUR, THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF BENGAL.

One of the most interesting of the antiquities of the place (Gour) is a minaret standing in the fort. To two-thirds of the height it is a polygon of twelve sides; above that a circular tower at a height of 84 feet. The door is some distance from the ground and altogether it looks more like an Irish round tower than any other example known. It is evidently a pillar of victory—a *Jaya Stambha*—such as the Kootub Minar at Delhi and those at Coel, Dowlatabad and elsewhere. There is or was an inscription on this monument which ascribed it to *Kirti Shah*. If this be so, it must be the king of that province who reigned in Gour A.D. 702-15<sup>1</sup> and the character of the architecture fully bears out this ascription.—Fergusson, p. 628.

### THE PROVINCIAL COINAGE OF BENGAL

As Altamsh seems to have been the first to provide an imperial coinage for Hindustán so his daughter Ruziah would appear to have taken the initiative in extending the silver

<sup>1</sup> Initial Coinage of Bengal, 1866

currency to the kingdom of Bengal. At least, as far as can be seen, her coins, minted at Lakhnauti, are the earliest specimens extant of the provincial issues of the south.

When Muhammad bin Sám had so far consolidated his early successes in India into a design of permanent occupancy, leaving a viceroy and generalissimo in Dehli, in the person of Kutb-ud-dín Aibek, while his own Court was still held at Ghazní, the scattered subordinate commanders each sought to extend the frontiers of *the faith* beyond the limits already acquired. In pursuance of this accepted mission, Muhammad Bakhtiar Khiljí, *Sipahsálár* in Oude, in A.H. 599, pushed his forces southward, and expelled, with but little effort, the ancient Hindu dynasty of Nuddeah, superseding that city as the capital, and transferring the future metropolis of Bengal to the proximate site of Lakhnauti, where he ruled undisturbed by higher authority, till his own career was prematurely cut short in A.H. 602.

Considering the then existing time-honoured system of valuations by shells<sup>1</sup>—which would certainly not invite a

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Batutah gives an account of the collection of the cowrie shells in the Maldiva Islands, from whence they were exported to Bengal in exchange for rice, the gradational quantities and values are detailed as follows  $جیسا = 100$  cowries.  $چال = 700$ .  $کھنی = 12,000$ .  $بستو = 100,000$ , four *bustus* were estimated as worth one gold *dindr*, but the rate of exchange varied considerably, so that occasionally a *dindr* would purchase as many as twelve *bustus*, or twelve lakhs of cowries (French edition, iv. p 121; Lee's Translation, p 178). The *Ain-i-Akbari* notices that all the accounts of Subah Orissa were kept in cowries. Gladwin's Translation, ii 15. The rates of exchange are given as follows—"4 cowries = 1 gunda, 5 gundas = 1 boory, 4 boories = 1 pun, 16 pun = khawun, (sometimes 20 puns go to a khawun), and 10 khawuns = 1 rupee." Sir H. Elliot mentions that "in India, in 1740, a rupee exchanged for 2,400 cowries, in 1756, for 2,660 cowries; and (1845) as many as 6,500 could be obtained for a rupee" (Glossary of Indian Terms, p 373). "They were estimated in the revised currency scheme of 1833 at 6,400 per rupee" (Prinsep's Useful Tables, p. 2). Major Renell, who was in Silhet in 1767-8, speaking of the cowrie money, remarks "I found no

hasty issue of coin—Muhammad Bakhtiar's acknowledged subordination to Kutb-ud-din, who, as far as can be seen, issued no money in his own name, it may fairly be inferred that if a single piece of money was produced, it formed a part only of an occasional, or special, metallic mintage, constituting a sort of numismatic proclamation, or assertion and declaration of conquest and supremacy alone, emblazoning probably the titles of the supreme Suzerain, and purposely avoiding any needless interference with the fixed trade by adventitious monetary complications, which so unprogressive a race as the Hindus would naturally be slow to appreciate.<sup>1</sup>

other currency of any kind in the country, and upon an occasion, when an increase in the revenue of the province was enforced, several boat loads (not less than 50 tons each) were collected and sent down the Burramooter to Dacca." As late as 1801 the revenues of the British district of Silhet "were collected in cowries, which was also the general medium of all pecuniary transactions, and a considerable expense was then incurred by Government in effecting their conversion into bullion" (Hamilton's Hindostan, London, 1820, 1 p. 195)

<sup>1</sup> The author of the *Tabakat-i-Nâsir* has preserved some curious passages regarding the early coinages in Bengal. First he tells us, that on the conquest of the country by the Muhammadans they found *quasi-indigenous* *Couriers* sufficing for all the wants of trade, in contrast to the *Jitals*, which constituted the recognized money of the neighbouring provinces of Hindustân (جہاں تقریر کردید کہ درانی

(p. 149) Subsequently, speaking of Muhammad Bakhtiar Khilji's arrangements in his new government, he goes on to say—  
و نرموضعی کہ لکبتوئی است دارالملک ساحت و اطراف آن—  
ممالک را در تصرف آورد و خطہ و سکہ در هر خطہ قائم کرد (p. 151)  
و اموال سیار بخدمت سلطان قطب الدین فرستی  
چتر برگرفت و خطہ  
p. 159 نام خود کرد، a phrase which appears indirectly to mark the allegation of "umbrellas and public prayers," with a reserve about the numismatic symbols

This will, perhaps, be the most fitting occasion to review cursorily the rise and progress of the local coinage, and to summarize the leading features of the Bengal scheme, which has but an irregular and fitful bearing upon the Imperial currency.

The artistic merits of the produce of the southern mints, though superior in the early copies to the crude introductory issues of Altamsh, seldom compete with the contemporary design or execution of the Dehli die-cutters, and soon merge into their own provincialisms, which are progressively exaggerated in the repetition, until, at last, what with the imperfection of the model, the progressive conventionalism of the designers, and the ignorance and crude mechanical imitation of the engravers, their legends become mere semblances of intelligible writing, like Persian *shikastah*, easy to read when one can divine what is intended, but for anything like precision in obscure and nearly obliterated margins a very untrustworthy basis for the search after exact results.

The different local mints each followed its own traditions, and the school of art stood generally at a higher level in the eastern section of the kingdom, especially when Sonargaon was held by its own independent rulers. The lowest scale of die execution, exemplified in the provincial series, was reserved for the capital of the united provinces under the kingship of Sikandar (Firuzabad, 769 A.H.). The numismatic innovations of Muhammad bin Tughlak were felt and copied in the south, especially in the reproduction of the titular legends; but his own coins struck at the "city"—he would not call it the capital—of Lakhnauti, evince the haste of royalty. And the gradations are still more clearly defined in the acknowledgment of Altamsh by Ghias-ud-din 'Auz, in 622 A.H., where it is stated—

رقبه خدمت در ریاست انتیاد آورده و سی زنجیر بیل و هشتاد لکھ مال  
بدان و خطبه و سکه بنام مبارک شمسی کرد

P. 171.

and carelessness of a temporary sojourn, and, still worse, the hand of a local artist, both which short-comings may be forgiven to a monarch who, in his own imperial metropolis, had raised the standard of the beauties of Arabic writing, as applied to coin legends, to a position it had never before attained, and which later improved appliances in other lands have seldom succeeded in equalling.

The Bengal Sultáns, mere imitators at first, were original in the later developments of coin illumination, and the issues of the fully independent kings exhibit a commendable variety of patterns in the die devices, damaged and restricted, however, in the general effect by the pervading coarseness and imperfection of the forms of the letters. Then, again, the tenor of the inscriptions is usually of independent conception, especially in the refusal to adopt the ever-recurring *kalmah* of the Muslim mints, and in the suggestive mutations of titles assigned to the lieutenants of the prophet on earth, whose identifications they did not seek to trace, and whose very names they did not care to learn. So also was their elaboration of the titular adjuncts of the four Imáms uninfluenced by northern formula; many of which conventionalisms survived for centuries, till Shír Sháh, in the chances of conquest, carried these traditions with him, and incorporated them into the coinage of Hindustán, during the exile of the temporarily vanquished Humáyún.

The standard of the Bengal coinage was necessarily, like the pieces themselves, a mere imitation of imperial mint quantities, and the early issues will be seen to follow closely upon the proper amount in weight contemplated in the Dehli prototypes; but one of the curious results the Kooch Behár collective find<sup>1</sup> determines is, that though the first kings on

<sup>1</sup> 13,500 pieces discovered in A.D. 1853 Journ. R.A.S., N.S., II, p. 145

the list clearly put forth money of full measure, their pieces were, in most cases, subjected to a well-understood Indian process of boring out, or reduction by sweating, to the exact weight to which we must suppose subsequent kings had lowered the legal standard of their money, so that, although some of the silver pieces of Kai Káus and Firuz have escaped the debaser's eye, and preserve the completeness of their original issue denomination, the great majority of the older coins have been brought down to the subsequent local standard of 166 grains, at which figure, in troy grains, the bulk of the hoard ranges, or, in more marked terms, 166 grains is the precise weight of the majority of the very latest and best preserved specimens, which must have been consigned to their recent place of concealment when very fresh from mints but little removed from the residence of the accumulator of the treasure, and may be held to represent new and clean coin which could scarcely have changed hands

The intrinsic value of the money of these Sovereigns follows next in the order of the inquiry. This department of fiscal administration might naturally have been expected to have been subject to but limited check or control, when regulated by the uncertain processes of Oriental metallurgy, but, in practice, it will be seen that some of the native mint-masters were able to secure a very high standard of purity, and, what is more remarkable, to maintain a singularly uniform scale in the rate of alloy. In the case of the imperial coins subjected to assay in Calcutta, specimens spreading over, and in so far representing a sequent fifty-six years of the issues of the northern metropolis, vary only to the extent of six grains in the thousand, or 0.6 per cent. As the Dehli coinage proves superior, in point of weight, to the southern standard, so also does it retain a higher degree of purity,

the 990 and 996 of silver to the test total of 1,000 grains, sinks, in the earliest examples of the Bengal mintages, to 989, from which figures it experiences a temporary rise, in possibly exceptional cases, under Bahádúr Sháh, who may be supposed to have brought down, with his reconstituted honours and the coined treasure so lavishly bestowed upon him by Muhammad bin Tughlak, on his restoration to the government of Sonárgaon, certain implied responsibilities for the equity and fulness of his currencies, while in the subsequent irregularly descending scale, 'Azim Sháh's officials arrived at the most unblushing effort of debasement, in the reduction of silver to 962 grains.

Colonel Guthrie has obtained the following data from the assay of the various coins composing the Kooch Bahar hoard "When the Bengal Asiatic Society made their selection of coins from the trove, they set apart four of each description for the mint, two being for special assay, two for the mint collection. The result of the assay was as follows (1,000 represents absolute purity)"

| DEHLI COINS                           | BENGAL COINS                                                            |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 Balban (A.H. 664) 990 and 996       | 1 Shams ud din Firuz 989                                                |
| 2 Kai Kobád (A.H. 686) 990 and 996    | 2 Bahadur Sháh 988 and 993                                              |
| 3 Ghias ud-din Tughlak (A.H. 720) 990 | 3 Mubarak Sháh 987                                                      |
|                                       | 4 Ghazi Sháh of Bengal 989                                              |
|                                       | 5 Ilias Sháh (1st type) 983, (2nd) 982, (3rd) 988                       |
|                                       | 6 Sikandar Sháh (return lost)                                           |
|                                       | 7 'Azam Sháh (1st type) 981, (2nd) 989, (3rd) 962, (4th) 977, (5th) 985 |

A question that has frequently puzzled both Oriental and European commentators on the history of India has been the intrinsic value of the current coin at the various epochs they

had occasion to refer to, so that the most exact numerical specifications conveyed but a vague notion of the sterling sum contemplated in the recital by any given author. Numismatists have been for long past in a position to assert that the Dehlí Tankah contained absolutely 173 grains, which would presuppose a theoretical issue weight of 174 or 175 grains, and a touch of nearly pure silver, but assuming this specific coin to have been a *white* or *real* ' Tankah of Silver" (سکہ سفید) a doubt necessarily remained as to what was to be understood by the alternative black Tankah (سکہ سیاہ). Nizám ud dín Ahmad in his *Tabakát-i Akbari*, seems to assign the introduction of these black Tankahs to Muhammad bin Tughlak, who notoriously depreciated the currency to a large extent before he resorted to the extreme measure of a forced currency, though it may be doubted whether any such depreciation would have been thought of even if there had been time to effect the conversion, at the very commencement of his reign, to which period Nizam ud dín attributes the issues of these pieces, in the apparent desire of explaining the bare possibility of the possession of such numerical amounts as are stated to have been squandered in largesses by the newly enthroned monarch. However, the real adulteration of the coin need not have extended much beyond the point indicated by the superficial aspect of his own Bengal mintages, and 'Azam Sháh's coins of the same locality probably exceed that accusatory measure of debasement, while, on the other hand Muhammad bin Tughlak on reverting to specie currencies, after his futile trial of copper tokens seems to have aimed at a restoration of the ancient purity of metal in his metropolitan issues as I shall have occasion to quote a coin of his produced by the Dehlí mint in A H 734, which has every outward appearance of unalloyed silver and equally retains the fair average weight of 168 grains.

All these evidences would seem to imply that the Bengal ratio of purity was intentionally lower, and that a very slight addition to the recognized alloy would bring the local issues fairly within the category of *black Tankahs*. Such a superposition of the inferiority of the coinages of the southern kingdom appears to be curiously illustrated by Bâber's mentioning that, in A.H. 932, a portion of the revenues of the district of Tîrhut, a sort of border-land of his empire which did not extend over Bengal, was payable in *Tankah Nukrah*, and the larger remainder in *Tankah Suh*,<sup>1</sup> an exceptional association of currencies in a given locality, which can scarcely be explained in a more simple and reasonable manner than by assuming the lower description of the conventional piece to have been concurrent with a better description of the same coin, which constituted the prevailing and authorized revenue standard of the northern portions of the Mughal conqueror's Indian dominions.

#### SEVENTH KING (A.H. 637-639, A.D. 1239-1241)

The virtual accession of Mu'izz ud din Bahram Shah dates from the defeat of Rîzâh, at Sirhind, in Ramazân 637 A.H., when the party advocating his claims became supreme in the capital, and was not deferred until after her murder by the Hindus, at Kaithal, in Rabî'u'l akhîr 638 A.H. This reign demands but scant preliminary comment, except to mark the second instance of the correctness of Altamsh's estimate of the ineptitude of his own sons.

<sup>1</sup> "Tîrhut tribute (*ih fîmatâ*) of the Tîrhutî Raja 700 000 silver tankas (*tankah nukrah*) and 2,700 000 black tankas (*tankah suh*) —W. Erskine, Bâber and Humâyûn, II, p. 511

## SUMMARY OF THE EVENTS OF THE REIGN

A H 637 (27 Ramazan) Enthroned (11 Shawwál) Ikhtíár ud-dín *I'tiq* nominated Vicegerent by the nobles

638 (8 Muharram) Ikhtíár ud-dín assassinated at the instigation of the Sultan Badr ud-dín Sankar assumes the direction of the government

„ 639 (8 Safar) Badr ud-dín's plot against the Sultan defeated, he is ordered to quit the capital General disaffection is engendered against the Sultan in consequence of his severities in checking these conspiracies

„ 639 (16 Jumadá I akhir) Láhor captured by the Mughals Minhaj us-Sirij, at the Court of Dehlí, appointed Kazi of the kingdom The army under the Vazír, Mahzab ud-dín, marches to the Beas to oppose the Mughals

„ 639 (19 Sh'aban) The Vazír intrigues for the deposition of the Sultan, and returns with the army to the gates of Dehlí

„ 639 (8 Zil'k'adah)<sup>1</sup> The city is taken, the Sultan captured, and slain on the 17th

*Mu'ī ud-dín Bahram Shah*

No 92 *Silver* Weight, 167 grs Pl vii fig 2 Very rare  
Dehlí, A H 638 Col Guthrie

Square area

Square area

فی عهد الامام

السلطان الاعظم

المستسر امير

معز الدسا والديس

الموسس

أبو المطمر مصرا مشاد

صرف هذا السکه —

بن السلطان

بحضرت دہلی فی سہ نعل

Obverse *inner margin* in the spaces between the square area and the circular marginal line, in four detached divisions —

وثلاث و (سماية)

ناصر امير امو مس

<sup>1</sup> The author mentions incidentally, the distribution of a "sum of 3000 chitalas among some rioters the night before the surrender

A second similar coin (considerably oxydized) weighs 169 grains. There are several coins of this mintage now known. I have a dated specimen of the same year, 638, and two new specimens of Bahram's silver currency are quoted in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1863, p. 35.

No 93 Silver and copper mixed Weights, 54 and 56 grs  
Pl 1 figs 30 and 31 Very rare

السلطان الاعظم معا الدين والدين—  
Obverse—

Reverse—Horsemanship and the Sultan (possibly سلطان معا جادين)

|                         |                |                             |
|-------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|
| No 94 Silver and copper | Weight, 54 grs | (Plate 1, No 32)            |
| Horsemanship            |                | Bull                        |
| स्त्री हमीर             |                | सुरिताण स्त्री मुअजदी       |
| <i>Sri Hammirah</i>     |                | <i>Suritan Sri Muajadin</i> |

These coins, as an almost constant rule, have the figure  $\xi=6$  on the Bull's housings. If there are any other numerals, contributing to a full date, elsewhere run into the device, I have as yet failed to discover them.

No 95 Silver and copper Weight, 52 grs  
(Variety of 32, plate 1)

|              |  |      |
|--------------|--|------|
| Horsemanship |  | Bull |
| स्त्री है    |  | मुईज |

This coin is of coarser execution than the ordinary specimens of this series. It also varies materially in the forms of the letters, the *s* follows the ancient rendering of that vowel  $\ddot{\alpha}$ ,<sup>2</sup> and the *j* adheres to the older shape of  $\Xi$ .

<sup>1</sup> In my previous readings I rendered this name as *मुयजदी* Muayadin. I now see that the third letter is an *अ* a, it is exceptional in its outline, but it accords with some examples of the exceptional *अ* a on 'Ali ud-din Mas'ud's coin, No 101, *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> Prinsep's Essays pl. xxxviii, xxxix, fifth and ninth centuries A.D. and the fifth and seventh centuries A.D.

No 96 Silver and copper Weight, 55 grs New  
(Variety of No 30, plate 1)

|                                |                       |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Horseman                       | السلطان               |
| Above which appears<br>سرامناد | الحمد لله رب العالمين |
|                                | الدستار والدين        |

#### EIGHTH KING (A H 639-644, A D 1241-1246)

The uncertainty of successions to Eastern thrones is prominently displayed in the present instance, in the elevation of two kings in one day 'Izz-ud-dín Balban, a son-in-law of Altamsh, supported by a faction, assumed the sovereignty immediately on the decease of Bahrám, but, before night, he was supplanted by 'Alá ud-dín Mas'aúd, a son of Rukn-ud-dín Firuz, upon whom the choice of the more influential nobles had fallen.

#### SUMMARY OF THE REIGN OF 'ALÁ UD DÍN MAS'AÚD

- A H 639 8 Zí'lk'adah Accession
- " 640 Arrogance and assumption of the Vazir Mahzab ud dín, who is killed by the party of the Turki noblesse on the 2nd Jumada'l awwal, 640 A H
- " 641 Minhaj us Siráj, having resigned his office of Kazi, leaves Dehli on the 9th Rajab on his two years' visit to the Court of Tughán Khán at Lakhnautí 'Alá ud dín Mas'aúd, during these two years, extends and consolidates his sway The Sultan releases his uncles, (Jalal ud dín and Nasir ud dín), from confinement, and provides them with governments

A II 612 Shawwál. The troops of Jajnagar appear before Lakhnauti.<sup>1</sup>  
 Tamar Khán brings reinforcements See p 8

„ „ 14 Safar The author returns to Delhi, and is reinstated in some of his old offices

„ „ Rajab The Mughals, under Manguti, attack Uchh The Sultan advances against them, but they retire without fighting

„ 644 The camp life and military associations are supposed to have had a bad effect upon the Sultan's morals, and he takes to evil courses and uncontrolled cruelties, disorganization engendered in consequence The chiefs and nobles invite Násir ud dín Mahmud to occupy the throne

„ „ 23rd Muhamarram The Sultán is imprisoned and dies

<sup>1</sup> I need scarcely say that I totally discredit the reported invasion of Bengal by the troops of Changiz Khán in 612 A.H. (Elliot's Historians, II 261 344, Dow's Hindustan (London, 1770), I p 342, Briggs's Ferishtah, I 231, Elphinstone's History of India, 377) The error, so largely adopted, seems to have arisen from the mistranscription of the original text of Minháj us Siráf, where حاچرخان has been substituted for حاچر in the leading passage—

و در شوال سه ائمہ واربعه و ستمانه کفار حاچرخان در لکشون آمدند Stewart, in his history of Bengal (London, 1813, p 62), had already pointed out that Ferishtah was wrong but he himself was mistaken in placing Jajnagar in Orissa, instead of in Tipperah. The Persian text printed in Calcutta (p 199) frankly admits the variant of حاچرخان in a foot note without venturing to correct the obvious inaccuracy in the body of the text which the tenor of the concurrent events related at page 215 would fully have justified (See also pp 157, 163 243 and Ferishtah Bombay lithographed edition of the Persian text, I 122) The author of the Tárikh-i Mubarak Shah avoids the mistake by refraining from noticing the reported invasion. Náris-ud-dín Ahmad in his Tárikh-i Akbari, however, reproduces the error, and indulges in some speculations as to the route by which the Mughals entered Bengal (MS text) In this he is followed by Badaoni, who adopts his text almost unchanged (Calcutta text, p 88) An amusing muddle, which the Calcutta editors might have avoided by a moderate exercise of critical acumen, also occurs in their making Changiz Khán fight the battle of Parwín, north of Kabul, in the intra Gangetic town of Budaon (Calcutta text of Tabakát-i Násir, p 318) See also Dr Lee's Ibn Batutah O Tr Fund, 97

'Alá ud dín Mas'aúd Shah

No 97 Silver Weight, 165 4 grs Dehli

Square areas inclosed in circles

|                       |                                 |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| في عَمَدِ الْإِمَامِ  | الْسُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ       |
| الْمُسْتَحْرِي اَمْرُ | عَلَى الدِّينِ وَالدِّينِ اَبُو |
| الْمُوْسَى            | الْمُطَعْرِ مُسْعُودُ شَاه      |
|                       | بْنُ الْسُّلْطَانِ              |

The marginal legends are the same on both faces

صرف هذا السکه حضرت دہلی فی سه

N B The Khalif *Al Mustansir* died in 640 A H

No 98 (pl 1 fig 33) Silver Weight, 167 5 grs Dehli, A H 641

|                        |                  |
|------------------------|------------------|
| في عَمَدِ الْإِمَامِ   | Area             |
| الْمُسْتَعْصِمُ اَمْرُ | Similar to No 10 |
| الْمُوْسَى             | .                |

Marginal legends *duplicated*—صرف ... سه احد واربعين وستمائة

No 99 (pl 11 fig 34) Silver and copper Weight, 50 grs

Obverse—السلطان الاعظم علاء الدين والدين

Reverse—Over the Horseman, مسعود شاد

No 100 Silver and copper mixed Coarsely executed dies  
Weight, 50 grs (My cabinet)

The Bull of Siva

Legend—

मुरिताण सी अलावदिण

Suritāṇ, Sri Alīqadīn

See also the coin of the Khalif Mustansir. No 47, pl 11, fig 52, suprd

Horseman, in *toghra*

Legend—

सी पलीफ

Sri Shalifa

No 101 Silver and copper mixed Finely cut and well finished  
dies Weight, 46 to 50 grs

Date, *Samvat*, 1300=1243 A.D.=641 A.H.

|                                                                  |                    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|
| Bull                                                             | Horseman           |
| Legend as above                                                  | स्त्री हमिर        |
| On the <i>Jhūl</i> of the Bull ३, on<br>the hindquarter, ३ = ३०० | <i>Sri Hamirah</i> |

For engravings see Prinsep's Essays, pl. xxvi: fig 33, J.A.S.B. vol  
xxxiv (1865), pl. xxxvii fig 23

A very remarkable outline is given to the initial ح a, in the title of the Sultán, on these coins, the nearest approach to which, in modern type, would be represented by a combination of ح pr, with a medial ت prefixed to it but shortened up, so as to admit of the insertion of a dot at its foot, thus ح ت A similar outline (usually without the dot) is retained on the coins of 'Alá ud din Muhammad Sháh (pl. iii fig. 60). The earlier example of possibly the same letter, on the introductory Kábul silver series, adverted to in the note p. 58, might be imitated in type by ح ب or ح ب. These dates were first detected by Gen. Cunningham. At the outset I was inclined to question the determination, as I had met with a coin of 'Alá ud din's, belonging to Major Simpson, which gave three dots after the ३, but I now see that this apparent increase was due to the imperfect execution of the die. Besides which, the discovery of a similar system of dating in the Vikramaditya era on the coins of Altamsh (p. 71) fully confirms the present system of interpretation.

No 102 (pl. ii fig 35) Copper Weight, 49½ grs

الاعظم علاء الدسا والدين مسعود شاد—  
*Obeirat*

مسعود شاد—  
*Reverse*

No 103 (pl. ii fig 36) Silver and copper Weight, 52 grs

الدين مسعود بن سلطان—  
*Obeirat*

*Reverse*—Rude figure of a horseman of the Narwar type

These coins partake of many of the characteristics of the unique

mintage of Arám Sháh, which may be traced not only in the peculiar reverse, but in the general coarseness of the die manipulation and the eccentric forms of the Persian letters

No 104 (pl. II fig. 37) Copper Weight, 56 grs

السلطان الأعظم مسعود السلطان—*Obverse*

*Reverse*—Rude figure of a horseman.

No 105 (pl. II fig. 38) Copper and Silver Weight, 41 grs

*Obverse*—Ball *بَلَّ* *Násir-ud-dín*

### NINTH KING (A. H. 644-664, A. D. 1246-1265).

The annals of the major portion of the reign of "Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd," the second son of Altamsh of *that name*, have been preserved in elaborate detail by his special biographer, Minháj us Siráj, whose history extends only to A. H. 658, though an occasional prayer for Mahmúd's successor seems to show that the author survived his Sovereign.<sup>1</sup> With a temporary intermission, the affairs of the kingdom were guided throughout by the strong will of the Vizír, Bahá-ud-dín Ballan, *Ulugh Khán*. It was, perhaps, as well for Násir-ud-dín that he had such support, for he seems, like the other sons of Altamsh, to have been but little fitted to dominate over his own turbulent nobles or to coerce the imperfectly conquered native races, nominally subject to his sway. Though unassailed in repute, his tastes tended rather to an obscure and retired life, associated with

in which he excelled a faculty which possibly had its influence on the execution and finish of the legends of his coinage, which display a remarkable advance upon the earlier mintages in the fineness of the lines and the improved definition of the Persian characters

SUMMARY OF THE EVENTS OF THE REIGN OF NÁSIR UD DÍN MAHMÚD<sup>1</sup>

- A.H. 644 Accession (23rd Muharram) Expedition under Ulugh Khan into the Hills of Jud and Jilam
- „ 645 Capture of Nandana<sup>2</sup> The army advances to Karra, attacks upon دلکی و ملکی (See note p. 66, *ante*)
- „ 646 Ulugh Khán proceeds against Chahar Deva Bahá ud din Arbeg killed before Rantambhor (11th Zil hijjah)
- „ 647 The Sultan gives his daughter in marriage to the son of Ulugh Khan
- „ 648 Izz ud din attempts to take Multan from Shir Khan, the brother of Ulugh Khan
- „ 649 Izz ud din revolts at Nagor, he is ultimately captured by Shir Khan at Uchh
- „ „ 25 Sha'bán The Sultan proceeds towards Malwa Chahar Deva defeated and the Fort of Narwar taken (p. 67, *ante*) Minháj us Siráj appointed Kazi of the State
- „ 650 The Sultán proceeds towards Uchh and Multan, intrigues commenced against Ulugh Khan
- „ 651 Ulugh Khán ordered to his estates in the Síwálík Hills and Hansi The royal army proceeds against him, and Hansi is given to Sháh-áddah Rukn ud din Ulugh Khan establishes his head quarters at Nagor, and carries on the war against Chahar Deva Shir Khan crosses the Indus

\*

<sup>1</sup> Tabákat-i Nasiri text and Elliot's Historians, II pp. 345 *et seq.* 365 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Gen Cunningham identifies this place with Deo kala or the Na po ti po kin lo of Huen Tsang i.e. Jvara deva kula close to Rájgar, the fort of Alha and Udal about 4 miles S.E. of Kansuji

A H 652 Operations in Sirmur and Pinjor, passage of the Jumna and the Ganges (at Miyapur), and march along the foot of the hills to the Ramgunga, and on to Badaon  
 Confederacy of nobles in support of Ulugh Khan  
 Manoeuvring of the armies in Sirhind, peace made

„ 653 The Sultan distrusts his own mother, who was married to Kutlugh Khan  
 Minhaj us Siraj again appointed Kazi of the kingdom  
 Kutlugh Khan revolts, but is obliged to retreat before Ulugh Khan to Kalinjar

„ 654 Operations against Kutlugh Khan continued

„ 655 Izz ud din Balban revolts  
 Kutlugh Khan joins him near Samana, they march to Dehli in the absence of the royal army, but are unable to hold their ground

„ 656 The Sultan proceeds against the Mughals, who had entered Multan, but returns to Dehli without an encounter

„ 657 The main army marches southward, repose and quiet in the capital  
 Tribute received from Izz ud din Balban  
 Uzbek in charge of Lakhnauti

„ 658 Ulugh Khan is sent to coerce the Mewatis, operations against *Malla*, chief of certain turbulent Hindus, near the capital  
 Ambassadors arrive at Dehli from Hulaku Mughal

„ 664 (11 Jumad' al awwal)<sup>1</sup> Nasir ud din Mahmud dies

*Nasir ud din Mahmud*

No 106 (pl II fig 39, and Marsden, No ccxiv)

*Silfer* Highest weight 168 8 grs 25 specimens (4 specimens average 168 2 grs and numerous coins touch 168 grs) DEHLI  
 Dates observed, 654<sup>2</sup> A H, 655, 656, 657, 658, 660, 662, 663, 664

<sup>1</sup> Zib Barni, Persian text, Calcutta edition, p 25 Tarikh Mubarak Shahi MS [length of reign given as 19 years, 3 months, 10 days], Badaoni, Calcutta text, p. 94, Ferishtah, Briggs, p 246

<sup>2</sup> The italic figures indicate the date of the particular coin described in the text and figured in the plate

|   |              |                    |
|---|--------------|--------------------|
| • | بى عد الامام | السلطان الاعظم     |
|   | المسعتم امير | ناصر الدسا و الدنس |
| • | المومن       | ابو المطرى محمود   |
|   | •            | بن السلطان         |

صرت هذه العملة مختصرت دللى فى سة اربع وخمسين—  
Margins و سمایة

N B — Some of the coins retain the old term *Silla* "coin," in lieu of the *Al Fizzat*, "silver" The early coins use the affilative اى, the later ones بى

No<sub>g</sub> 107 (pl u fig 40) Silver and Copper Weight, 51 grs

Obverse—السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدسا و الدنس—

Reverse—{ In front of the Horseman, श्री हमीर. Sri Hammirah  
{ Above the Horseman, سعید.

In the year 1854, a large hoard of these coins was discovered at Hansi I availed myself of the opportunity to have twelve of them (= 584 grs) assayed by the usual native process of blowing off the copper with lead The result arrived at gave a total of 149 grains of silver, or an average of 12 4166 grains of silver per coin

No 108 (pl u fig 41) Copper? Weight, 54 grs

Obverse—As above

Reverse—The Narwar type of Horseman

| No 109 | Silver and copper | Minute coin | Weight, 12 grs. |
|--------|-------------------|-------------|-----------------|
|        | Obverse           |             | Reverse         |
| ساري   |                   |             | صر              |
| حدل    |                   |             | دخل             |

I have detached the subjoined coin from the ordinary suite of the mintages of Násir ud-dín Mahmud, because I am not quite certain about the finality of its attribution it will be seen to differ from the ordinary pieces of Mahmúd in the more ample legend, the general style of the Persian characters, and in the adherence to the old practice of filling in one entire surface with the king's name and titles, as in the coins of Ríziah (pl. 1 fig. 27, pl. vi fig. 1), an arrangement which, in the metropolitan series, had for some time past given place to the insertion of duplicate marginal legends on either surface of the piece This peculiarity may prove to be a mere indication of its issue from the Lakhnautí mint, where the earlier coins of Ríziah are now proved to have been struck, more over, as bearing upon this point, it may be noted that the introductory coins of the local kings of Bengal (pl. vi. fig. 2, etc.), though they do not implicitly follow this older model, yet in no case do they display the duplicate marginal legends adopted in the northern capital If these coins, then, are to be accepted as the produce of Bengal dies, the additional matter inserted after the Sultan's name may be expected to allude to some imperial intervention in the affairs of the southern province, or we may possibly have to seek for the name of the local Viceroy in the illegible portion of the obverse now engraved

No. 110. Silver. A.H. 5. (650 odd?). Unique. Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

في عهد الامام  
المستعم امير  
المومنين  
Margin—  
خمسين . . .



السلطان الاعظم  
ناصر الدنیا والدین ابرهیم  
المظفر محمود بن السلطان

K. Inscription of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, engraved over the doorway of the Minaret<sup>1</sup> at Allygurh, dated 10th Rajab, A.H. 652.

هذه العمارة في عهد مملكة السلطان الاعظم مالك رقاب الام  
ناصر الدنیا والدین سلطان المسلمين

في الامان لاهل الايمان وارث ملک سليمان صاحب الخاتم في  
ملک العالم ابی المظفر محمود بن السلطان خلد الله ملکه وسلطانه  
الملک العالم الكبير المعظم تتلخان بیالحق و الدین ملک ملک  
الشرق والصین بلن الشمسي في ایام ایالة بامر مسالة العاشر من  
رجب سنة اثنتي خمسين و ستمائة

<sup>1</sup> It is with much regret that I learn that this ancient monument has been wantonly destroyed. With a feeling akin to shame, I have to add, that this was the deliberate act of my fellow-countrymen, the English officials in charge of the district in 1861.

effective measures against these plunderers, and, for the moment, so to say, exterminated the race. About this period, the disorganization of the neighbouring kingdoms, consequent upon the destructive inroads of the Mughals, drove illustrious men of varied nationalities to seek refuge in India. There under a warmer sun were assembled all the brightest ornaments of the Asiatic world, and, among them, no less than fifteen sovereign princes. So that, for a time, the old Hindú capital became the centre of Muhammadan civilization, and Dehli, imitating the viceregal court of Multán, shone with a splendour but little anticipated for it by its Muslim occupiers of a few short years before.

The unsparing rigour of the Emperor secured his supremacy almost unquestioned throughout his long reign, with the exception of the serious revolt of Tughral, the governor of Bengal (No. 15, page 8), who assumed the style and titles of an independent king, and succeeded in defeating two several armies sent to subdue him. At length the Sultán proceeded against him in person, and one of his commanders coming upon the forces of the rebels somewhat unexpectedly, in a dashing spirit of chivalry, though at the head of only forty troopers, entered their camp at headlong speed, and struck panic into his adversaries by his very rashness. In the precipitate flight which ensued, Tughral was captured and slain, and the recovered kingdom of Bengal

have prepared the way; and the Emperor, in the language of his people, took the road to another world.

It will be seen that my sketch of this long and important reign deals with generalities alone, and is altogether deficient in the annals outlined on previous occasions an explanation of this reserve is to be found in the change of the guiding historical authority The loss of Minhaj us Siraj, who was an eye-witness to many of the facts he relates, a participant in many of the public events he chronicles, and a candid and conscientious narrator, is ill supplied by Zia ud-din Barni, a writer of little merit,<sup>1</sup> wanting in arrangement, time-serving in his representation of incidents, and, as regards this particular section of his biographies, a mere hearsay compiler of crude tradition nearly a century after date<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is no new discovery of mine I denounced our author in no limited terms in 1846 (Initial Connage of Bengal J R A S, N S, ii, p 180), and as an immediate test, I may add that of *the two* exceptional dates given in the entire twenty years of Balban's domination, *one* is manifestly wrong See also Colonel Lees's notice of this author, J R A S, N S, iii p 441, and Sir H Elliot's and Prof Dowson's remarks on the same subject, Elliot's Historians, iii 93

<sup>2</sup> Zia ud-din Barni, in his *Tárikh-i Firuz Sháh*, gives the following account of his own work — “I deemed it advisable to exclude from this history every thing which is included in the *Tabakát-i Násiri*, and to confine myself to the history of the later kings of Dehlí It is ninety five years since the *Tabakát-i Násiri*, and during that time eight kings have sat upon the throne of Dehlí. Three other persons, rightly or wrongfully occupied the throne for three or four months each, but in this history I have recorded only the reigns of eight kings, beginning with Sultán Ghías-ud-din Balban, who appears in the *Tabakát-i Násiri* under the name of Ulugh Khán

First. Sultán Ghías-ud-din Balban, who reigned 20 years

Second. Sultán Muizz-ud-din Kaukubád, son of Sultán Balban, who reigned 3 years.

Third. Sultán Jalal ud-din Firuz Khilji, who reigned 7 years

Fourth Sultán Alá ud-din Khilji, who reigned 20 years.

Fifth Sultán Kuth ud-din, son of Sultán 'Alá ud-din, who reigned 4 years and 4 days

Sixth. Sultán Ghías ud-din Tughlak, who reigned 4 years and a few months

Seventh Sultán Muhammad, the son of Tughlak Sháh, who reigned 26 years

Eighth Sultán Firuz Sháh *the present king*, who may God preserve

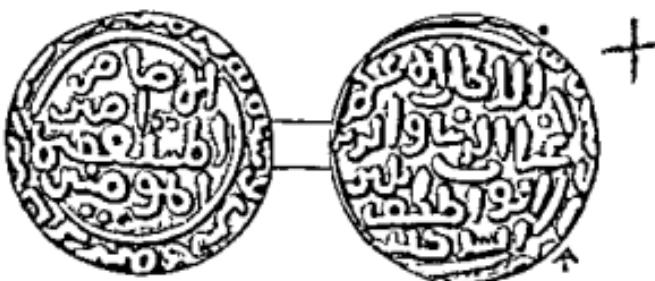
I have not taken any notice of three kings, who reigned only three or four

The numismatic illustration of this period is likewise less diversified, the long repose of Mahmud's reign allowed the mint arrangements to settle themselves into a fixed system, and the public money accordingly assumed a more permanent form, unenlivened by commemorative medals or new adaptations of local currencies. Balban's rule is, however, identified with the first appearance of a gold coinage following the ordinary silver models already in circulation.

*Ghīd ud dīn Balban*

No 111 (Marsden, DCXCV)

Gold Weight, 163 grs Very rare Col Guthrie. DEHLI, A.H. 680  
Circular Areas



السلطان الاعظم

عات الدسا والدين

المومن

السلطان الاعظم

أبو المظفر بلس

السلطان

Margin صرف هذه السکه حضرت دھلی فی سہ نہاس و سماں—

No 112 (pl. II. fig 42)

Silver Highest weight, 167.5 grs (Five specimens average 167.3 grs) DEHLI Dates observed, A.H. 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 673, 674, 678

months I have written in this book, which I have named Tārikh-i-Firdz Shāh whatever I have seen during the six years of the reign of the present king Firdz Shāh and after this if God spares my life I hope to give an account of subsequent occurrences in the concluding part of this volume —Elliott's Historians 11 p. 93

Areas as usual in the current silver coins, consisting of a double lined square within circular marginal lines.

Margins as in the gold coinage, with the exception of the term *Al Fiṣṭat*, which replaces the *Al Sikka*.

An innovation is to be noticed in the coinage of Balban, in the rejection of the words *fi 'ahd*, "in the time of," "under the auspices of," hitherto prefixed to the name of the Khalif on the medals of his predecessors. The last Abbaeside Khalif, Must'aṣim, was put to death in 656 A.H. by the Mughal conqueror of Baghdaḍ, Húlákú Khán. It has been the subject of remark, as exhibiting an apparent inconsistency, that Balban and other monarchs should have continued to quote the name of this prominent martyr of their faith long subsequent to his decease, its retention, however, may be considered as appropriate, as it was clearly intentional, for, pending the appearance of an acknowledged successor to the throne of Muhammad, no course could have been less open to objection than a continuation of this simple record of the last who had borne the mantle of the Prophet.

No 113 (pl. II fig. 43) Copper, or silver and copper?

Weight, 47½ grs Common

Obverse—السلطان الاعظم عاث الدسا والدين—

Reverse { Centro—بلس Balban  
Margin—श्री सुलता गयासु दी Sri Sultán Gyásu dín

No 114 (pl. II fig. 44) Copper Weight, 67 grs Common

Obverse—السلطان الاعظم—

Reverse—عاث الدسا والدين—

No 115 (pl. II fig. 45) Silver and copper Weight, 26 grs Rare

Obverse—عدل عاثي—

Reverse—حصريت دهلي—

L Inscription of *Balban*, A.H. 682=A.D. 1283.

The single Persian inscription of *Balban* hitherto discovered is engraved on the walls of the Jám'i Musjid at Gurmuktsar, in the Mirat district (Lat. 28° 46', long. 78° 10').<sup>1</sup> It is to the following effect:—

مبني هذه العمارة في عهد السلطنة السلطان الاعظم شاهنشاه  
المعظم غيات الدنيا والدين ابو المطر بلن السلطان ناصر امير  
المؤمنين . . . . سنه اثني وثمانين وستمائة ٦٨٢

But the most important record for the illustration and due assignment of the preliminary adaptive issues of the Pathan dynasty is furnished by an inscription at *Pálam*, in the Dehli territory, engraved during the reign of *Balban*, under the auspices of *Utar*, the son of *Haripál*, and dated in Samvat 1333. This epigraph reproduces the Muhammadan names of nine of the leading monarchs of the race, in Devanagari characters. The inscription is historically unimportant, but it is curious in the preservation of the local nomenclature of the several kings, and the casual application of Indian titles of honour, ending with the *Amir*, assigned to the reigning Sultán.<sup>2</sup> A full transcript and a translation of this inscription (in *Urdú*) were published by Syud Ahmad Khán in 1854, but as I was not quite satisfied with its data and details, I availed myself of the assistance of Ramsurn dás, the then Deputy-Collector of Dehli, who was so obliging as to secure for me a new and more exact version. This recension differed

<sup>1</sup> This legend was copied for me, many years ago, by Syud Ahmad Khán.

<sup>2</sup> This is an item of some importance in the discussion of the correct determination of the applicability of the title of *Amir*, on the early *Dehliwás*, to the reigning sovereign, to which I have adverted at p. 51.

materially from the text given in the *Asár us Sunadced*, as may be seen from a comparison of the orthography of the names now given. I have unfortunately lost the revised document itself, but I had copied all that was of immediate value into my note-book, from which I extracted the names already published at p. 331, vol. ii. of my edition of Prinsep's Essays (1858). I am the more particular in stating these facts, as I regret to learn from Gen. Cunningham that he had made many inquiries for the inscription on the two different occasions of his later visits to Dehli, "but that it could not be found, and was supposed to have disappeared, in the Mutiny."

M. Inscription of Uṭar (उटर) son of Haripál (हरिपाल) originally recorded on the *Baoli* at Pálam (Lat.  $28^{\circ} 35'$ , Long.  $77^{\circ} 8'$ ) in the Dehli territory, dated Sáwan badi 13 (सावन बड़ी १३) Samvat 1333  $\stackrel{+}{=}$  1276 A.D., A.H. 675.

1. शहाबुद्दीन *Sahabuddín*.
2. कुतबुद्दीन *Kutabuddín* with the title of भूपालः *Bhúpálaḥ*.
3. शमशुद्दीन *Samshuddín*.
4. फेरोजशाह *Pheroz Shah* with the title of चभूवभूमिपति *Ca-bhúva Bhúmi Pati*.
5. जलालुद्दीन *Jalaluddín (Rizlah)*.
6. मौजदीन *Maujadín*, title नृपः *Nripaḥ*.
7. अलाउद्दीन *Aláuddín*, title नृपति *Nripati*.
8. नस्रुद्दीन *Nasruddín*, title पृथ्वीद्र *Prithvidra*.
9. गयासदीन *Gyasadín*, title श्रीहम्मीर *Sri Hammíra*.

Mu'izz-ud-dín Muhammad bin Sám is here called by the title he bore as commander in his early campaigns—both the brothers, Shams-ud-dín, the senior, and Shaháb-ud-dín himself, adopted new titular designations on the elevation of

Shams ud-din Muhammad bin Sam (afterwards Ghias ud-din) to the throne of Ghazni<sup>1</sup>

It will be seen that *Aram Shah*, the third king of the ordinary lists, is not allowed a place in this summary. Riziah is designated by her title of *Jalal-ud-din*, and neither her ordinary name nor her second title of رصّة الدين which appears on her Persian copper coinage (Nos. 28, 29, pl. 1), are alluded to.

नृपति *Nripati*, "king," is the title applied to the great Mahmud of Ghazni on his Mahmúdpúr (Lahore) coins previously noticed<sup>2</sup>

#### ELEVENTH KING (A H 686-689, A D 1287-1290)

Once again the frequent tale of a dissipated king, with virtually ruling ministers, has to be told, varied only in the present instance in the extreme lengths to which the monarch carried his debaucheries, and his escape from the toils of one vizir only to fall under the subjection of a second, who eventually usurped his crown. We have seen that Balban's surviving son, Násir-ud-din Mahmúd, *Bughra Khan*, had already been installed in the kingdom of Bengal, which he seems to have been unwilling to quit, even for the higher honours of

قتل ارسلان سلطنت محمد بن سام را شمس الدين مسگفتند و برادرش شهاب الدين ماخواهند چون بر سر بر حبانداری نمک یافت ملک سلطان عیاث الدین گشت و برادرش را معر الدين لقب

<sup>1</sup> P. 48 *suprd*

the imperial succession.<sup>1</sup> The Sultán had, therefore, provided that Kai Khusrú, the son of his first-born "martyred" heir, should fill the throne of Dehli; but the party in power at the capital secured the immediate elevation of Mu'izz-ud-dín Kaikubád, the son of Bughrá Khán. The youth is described as of an amiable disposition, and as having been brought up with such extreme strictness, that the liberty and licence of his new position proved too much for his self-control. Licentiousness was readily infectious at an Oriental Court, and the new monarch found no want of panders and companions in his orgies.

The government was soon surrendered to the deputy, Nizám-ud-dín, one of whose earliest acts was the disposal of Kai Khusrú, as a preliminary to clearing the way for his own designs on royalty. The *Nau Muslim* (converted) Mughals, who had settled at Dehli, and who formed an important element in the body politic, were next assailed and massacred in detail, and few nobles felt themselves safe from the machinations of this all-powerful minister; reports of his designs even reached the Sultán's ears, only to be discredited and disregarded. But the most subtle scheme, for the furtherance of his own aims, conceived by Nizám-ud-dín, was the sowing distrust between the father and the son, and persuading the latter to advance in force towards Bengal.<sup>2</sup> The armies came

<sup>1</sup> Balban had been urgent in pointing out to him how much more importance, in a political sense, attached to the possession of the northern capital—which in the limited experiences of those days seemed for ever designed to remain as the central stronghold of India. He added, in the same spirit, that "whoever held Bengal must needs be subject to the ruling power at Dehli."—Zíá Barní. Elhot's Historians, in p 123

<sup>2</sup> "When Bughrá Khán heard that his son . . . paid no heed to his letters, he resolved to go and see him, and wrote him a letter announcing his intention . . . This letter awakened the Sultán's affection . . . and several letters passed . . . It was at length arranged that the Sultán would go to Oudh, and that his father

in sight of each other near Oude, and encamped on either bank of the Sarjú, after certain preliminary peaceful advances, Bughrā Khán sent his second son, Kai Khús, to pay the introductory visit to his brother, this was responded to by Kai Kubád sending over his own infant son, Kai Jamour, to be presented to his grandfather. This, again, led to the old king trusting himself frankly within the limits of his son's camp, and at the public Durbár, held on the occasion, natural affections so asserted their sway, in defiance of the pompous restrictions and ceremonials of Oriental Courts, that reconciliation was at once complete, and the two monarchs vied with each other in the endeavour to surrender the place of honour<sup>1</sup>. The meeting, however, scarcely changed the political position of either party. Bughrā Khán was permitted to return undisturbed to Bengal, whose local throne was filled

should come from Lakhnáu and meet him on the banks of the Sard. The Sultan's intention was to proceed privately (*guriduk*) to the Sard, but his minister opposed this, observing that 'the journey was long, and that he ought to travel in state with an army . . . Old writers had said that in pursuit of dominion fathers will slay their sons, and sons their fathers. Ambition for rule offices both paternal and filial affection . . . The Sultan's father had struck coins, and caused the *Khatib* to be read in his name,—be it so, he was the rightful heir to the kingdom, and who could foresee what would happen at the interview. The Sard ought to proceed with his army in all state and grandeur . . . The Rásas and Rámas would then come to pay their respects, but if he travelled with his all reverence for the kingly office would be lost'. His advice was taken by the Sultan, and he directed his army and travelling equipage to be prepared.'—Záti Barni. Elliot's *Illustrations*, in p 130.

<sup>1</sup> This remarkable interview has been made the subject of a poem, in 4000 couplets, entitled the "Kurán us Sádán," by the celebrated Yámin ud-dín, Abú Hasan, *Amir Kháns Dehlázi*, which was composed under the auspices of Kai Kubád himself in A.H. 688. Those who are disinclined to encounter the tedious efforts and dull repetitions of Persian poetry may consult with advantage an exhaustive review and analysis of this work, by Professor E. B. Cowell, in the *Journal As. Soc. Bengal* for 1860 pp 225 239. The date of the effective start of Muázz ud-dín, from Dehli, on his march southward, is calculated by Professor Cowell to have been *Rabi' ul-Awwal*, A.H. 686, p 230.

by his family after him for two generations, while the empire of Dehli speedily passed into the hands of an alien race

But little remains to be said about Kaikubád's reign. On his return to his capital the objectionable vizír was quietly poisoned, and his place supplied by Jalál-ud-dín *Khiljí*, governor of Sámána. The Sultán having now become paralysed, his son, of tender years, was placed on the throne, under the title of Shams-ud-dín, and the old *Balbani* Túrks rallied round him in the hope of saving the kingdom from the power of the *Khiljis*; but their measures to that end were of little effect, for Jalál-ud-dín having got possession of the person of the young prince, sent one of his followers to put an end to the dying Sultán, whose body was ignominiously cast into the Jumna.<sup>1</sup>

*Mu'izz-ud-din Kaikubád.*

No. 116 (pl. ii fig. 46; Marsden, DCCVIII)

*Silfer.* Weight, 168 grs Average weight of 5 coins, 164 2 grs

DEHLI. Dates, 687 A.H. and 688 A.H.

|               |                    |
|---------------|--------------------|
| الإمام        | السلطان الأعظم     |
| المستعصم أمير | مُر الدّنيا والدين |
| المومنين      | أبو المطمر كيتساد  |

*Margins—*

صرف هذه الفضة بمحرف دهلي في سة سع وثمانين وستمائة

<sup>1</sup> The *Tárikh Mubárik Sháh* gives the date of this event as the 19th Muharram A.H. 689, Kaikubád's accession having taken place in A.H. 686, and not, as erroneously stated by Zia Burm, in 685. As this is the *single* date given in the entire reign, it might have been hoped that it should be rightly given.—Elliot's *Illustrations*, pl. 125.

No 117 (pl. II fig. 47) Silver and copper Weight, 54 grs

السلطان الأعلم معر الدسا والدين—

Obverse *Kalku'edd*  
Reverse *كتناد*

శ్రీ సుల్తాన్ ముహుద్దు దో<sup>3</sup> Sri Sultán Mu hūdīn

The old initial form of the letter కు is remarkable

No 118 (pl. II fig. 48) Copper Weight, 51 grs

السلطان الأعلم—

معر الدسا والدين—

No 119 (pl. II fig. 49) Silver and copper, or copper?

Weight, 59 grs

Obverse

حدل

معرى

Reverse

حمرت

دھلی

### TWELFTH KING (A.H. 689-695, A.D. 1290-1295)

Jalál-ud-dín Firúz having accomplished the revolution which transferred the imperial throne from the Turks to the Khiljis,<sup>1</sup> proceeded with considerable caution in the consolidation of his own power. Among other prudent measures, he retained the young prince Kaiumours as the ostensible Sultán for more than three months, and succeeded in inducing Malik

<sup>1</sup> Zia Barni professes to speak of the events of this reign as coming under his own personal observation (text, p. 175) and yet his opening date for the accession of Jalál ud-dín Firuz in 688 A.H., has to be corrected into 689 A.H. on the authority of Mir Khusru. The Tarikh Mubarak Sháh concurs in this latter date. Nizam ud-dín Ahmad retains the 688 but Budamchi corrects his own version of the date into 689 (text, p. 166). Firishtah has 687 A.H. (Briggs, 1283 Bombay text, 1. 154.)

Chhajú, the nephew of Balban, to leave the capital and proceed to his fief at Karra; and, as he distrusted the good-will of the people of Dehli, he removed his court to the site of the new town of *Kilughari*, on the Jumna, which had already been partially occupied by Kaikubád.<sup>1</sup>

\* In the second year of Firúz's reign, Malik Chhajú broke out into open revolt, and, aided by the old Túrki party and numerous contingents of Hindustáni troops, advanced towards the capital.<sup>2</sup> The Sultán, on the other hand, was warmly seconded by his Khiljí adherents, and his disciplined warriors easily defeated the indigenous levies; he then endeavoured to gain over the captive nobles by clemency and conciliation, even Chhajú himself was spared. In reply to the expostulations of his courtiers, he attempted to justify this unwise leniency by his unwillingness to shed Muslim blood, and the hope that he might thus convert enemies into friends. The single instance in which retributive justice was allowed to run its course was infelicitous, as the individual who was sacrificed chanced to be a pious *Daríesh*, Sidi Maulá

<sup>1</sup> The exact site of *Kilughari* was S.E. of Humáyún's Tomb and N by W. of Khizzábád which latter positions are duly marked in the plan of Dehli which illustrates this work. In 1808 the Jumna had materially changed its old bed, which lay much to the westward of the course here indicated, following a bend inwards, which left *Kildghari* on a bold promontory —Journal Archaeological Society of Dehli, A.D. 1853, p. 52 Cunningham's Report, 1862-3, p. 38

<sup>2</sup> Malik Chhajú is stated to have affected all the honours of kingship under the title of *Mughis-ud-dín*.

و ملک چیجو خود را سلطان معیث الدین خطاب کرد و در تمامی هندوستان خطبه سام خود خوانا سید Zia Barni

The striking of coin is likewise specified in a subsequent passage.

و ملک چیجو که چندین ماد در هندوستان خطبه او خواندند و سکه بنام او زدند p. 181

by name, whom certain conspirators had designed to place upon the throne

'Alá-ud-din, the nephew and son-in-law of the Sultan, who had been entrusted with the districts of Karra, etc., on the defeat of Chhajú, found himself on reaching his government within much of the pernicious influence of the hostile Turki adherents of his predecessor, and listening to their persuasions, he seems to have commenced the series of his most successful campaigns against the Hindu kingdoms of the south, mainly with a view to the acquisition of sufficient wealth, by plunder, to enable him to equip such a force as should completely overpower the royal army. Eventually, however, deceit was preferred to overt insurrection, and the Sultan having been deluded into visiting 'Alá-ud-din in his camp, at Karra, was assassinated while clasping the hand of his treacherous nephew<sup>1</sup>

*Jalal ud din Firuz Shah*

No 120 Gold Weight, 167 grs Unique B M

This is a most crude and ill executed piece, which, though bearing the name of Dehli on the margin, has every appearance of being the produce of dies prepared in 'Alá-ud-din's southern camp, with a view to the ready conversion of plunder into coin. The legends imitate, in their tenor, the conventional epigraphs of the silver coinage, but the characters are badly formed and at times unintelligible. This is particularly the case with the marginal legend, where the word *ك* has to be taken for granted, and the date appears as *نهايس ، ستمائين*, 680 A.H., which is clearly an error. The gold of which the piece is composed is unrefined and unequally wrought

<sup>1</sup> Among the casual incidents mentioned by Zíá Barní as occurring during this reign, may be noted the famine after the death of Sidi Maulá, when wheat rose to the price of a 'jital per *sír*, the Sultan's expedition in person to Rantambhor in 689 A.H., the inroad of the Mughals in 691 A.H., the Sultan's march to Gwahor in 695 A.H.

No 121 (pl. II fig. 50) *Silver* Weight, 168 grs Dehli Dates observed, A.H. 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695

Small square area, with broad margin

Square area, occupying the entire surface of the coin

السلطان الاعظم

الامام  
المستعصم  
امير المؤمنين

حلال الدسا والدنس

أبو المطغر سرور شاد

السلطان

Margin—

صرف هذه الفضة محفورة دهلي في سنه أحدي و تسعين و ستين و ستمائه

No 122 (pl. II fig. 51) *Silver and Copper* Weight, 52 grs

Obverse—  
السلطان الاعظم حلال الدسا والدنس

Reverse { Centre, شاد  
Margin, श्री सुलता जलालुद्दी Sri Sultán Jalaludín

No 123 (pl. II fig. 52) *Copper* Weight, 67 grs

Obverse—  
السلطان الاعظم

Reverse—  
حلال الدسا والدنس

No 124 (pl. II fig. 53) *Silver and Copper* Weight, 29 grs

Obverse—  
عدل سرور شاد

Reverse—  
محضرت دهلي

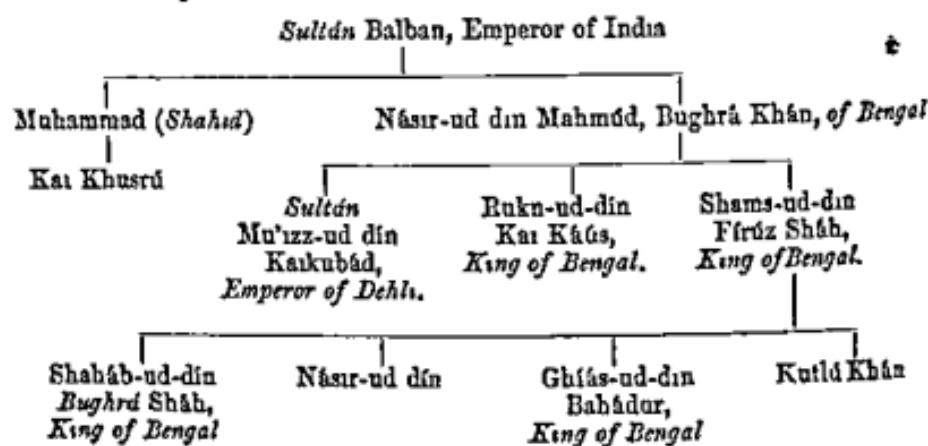
## THE CONTEMPORARY COINAGE OF BENGAL

We now reach a period in the numismatic history of India when Bengal had arrived at the honours of a national coinage. The tangible produce of its mints henceforth runs in a parallel series with the Imperial issues, and continues to have an illustrative bearing upon the Chronicles of the Sultans of Dehli up to the epoch when Firuz Sháh III (A.H. 754) had to abandon for ever, on the part of his dynasty, any pretence of interference with the southern section of the old dominion. The special interest of the Dehli Pathans in the Bengal currencies only recommences towards the final close of the rule of the race, when Shír Sháh Afghán carried up to Northern India certain modifications and novelties in the current coin, which were again imitated and adopted, simultaneously with the far more material fiscal reforms introduced from below, by Akbar on his recovery of India in A.H. 1003, regarding either of which appropriations this great Mughal's laudatory biographers are discreetly silent.

The passages quoted below,<sup>1</sup> from Ibn Batutah, will put

<sup>1</sup> "C'est le Sultan Fakhr eddin, surnommé Fakrab, qui est un souverain distingué, aimant les étrangers surtout les fakirs et les soufis. La royauté de ce pays a appartenu au Sultan Nâsir eddin, fils du Sultan Ghîyâth eddin Balâban, et dont le fils, Mo'izz eddin fut investi de la souveraineté à Dihly. Nâsir eddin se mit en marche pour combattre ce fils, ils se rencontrèrent sur les bords du fleuve et leur entrevue fut appelée la rencontre des deux astres heureux. Nous avons déjà raconté cela, et comment Nâsir eddin abandonna l'empire à son fils et retourna dans le Bengal. Il y séjourna jusqu'à sa mort, et eut pour successeur son (autre) fils Châms eddin, qui, après son trépas fut lui-même remplacé par son fils Châlib eddin, lequel fut vaincu par son frère Ghîyâth eddin Behâdur Râshid. Châlib eddin demanda du secours au Sultan Ghîyâth eddin Toghtâk, qui lui en accorda, et fut prisonnier Behâdur Râshid. Celui-ci fut

incidental materials I have constructed a genealogical tree of the rulers of Bengal who succeeded Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, the son of Balban, whose undisturbed return into Bengal has been already noticed.



The coins of Rukn-ud-dín Kai Káus, discovered in the celebrated Kooch Bahár hoard,<sup>1</sup> had already enabled me to correct the erroneous statement of Zia Barni<sup>2</sup> as to the length of the reign of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, *Bughrá Khán, of Bengal*, in virtue of the sustained series of dates 691-695, still legible on the pieces in question. The inscription I am now able to quote establishes more definitely Kai Káus's position as local

<sup>1</sup> Colonel J. C. Haughton, to whom we are indebted for the knowledge of this *trouvailler*, was so obliging as to furnish me with some interesting details of the site of discovery and illustrations of the neighbouring localities — "The place where the coin was found is about three miles S W. of Deenbatta, not far from the Temple of Kanteswaree (or Komit Eswaree) on the banks of the river Dburla. Near to this temple is a place called Gosun Morree, a short distance from which are the ruins of Kantesur Rája's capital, called Kanteswaree-Pat, consisting of a mound of considerable extent, which has been surrounded with several ditches and walls, which are again protected at the distance of a mile or two by enormous mounds of nearly 100 feet high. The brass vessels, in which the treasure was deposited, were ordinary brass *lotahs*, to which the top or lip had not been fixed, but in lieu thereof the vessels were covered by canister tops, secured by an iron spike passing from side to side."

<sup>2</sup> Calcutta test, 451, Fershtab, Briggs, L 406, Jour. I.L.A. S. II N.S. pp 152, 153, Stewart's Bengal, pp. 80, 118.

sovereign of Bengal in 697 A.H., confessing allegiance to the supreme Sultán 'Alá-ud-dín, "Sikander us Sáni;" and it officially confirms the fact already testified to by Mír Khusrú (p 140, *ante*)<sup>1</sup> and Ibn Batutah, that he was the "son of Mahmúd, son of the Emperor" (Balban); a descent the coins are careful to indicate in the unusual iteration of

سلطان بن سلطان بن سلطان

Rukn ud dín Kai Káus of Bengal

No 125 (pl vi fig 2) Silver Weight, 168 grs Very rare  
Lakhnauti, A.H. 691, 693, 694, 695

الْمُسَمَّم  
الْمُسْتَعْمَم  
امير المؤمنين

السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ  
رَكْنُ الدِّيَّا وَالدِّيَنِ أَبُو  
الْمُطَفَّرِ كِيكَاؤس سُلْطَانُ  
بْنُ سُلْطَانِ بْنِ سُلْطَانِ

سُرْبَهْ دَالْحَةْ حَسْرَتْ لِكِبُوتَيْ سَهْ حَمْسَ وَتَسْعِينَ وَسَمَاءَيَةَ—Margin—

N Translation of an Inscription of Kai Kaus found among the  
ruins at Gunga Rámpur, near Dínápur

"This Musjid was built in the reign of the King of kings, Rukn ud dúná wa dín, the Shadow of God upon earth, *Kai Kaus Shah*, son of Mahmád, son of the Emperor, the right hand of the Khalífah of the Lord, Assister of the Amir ul Mumínín, may God perpetuate his kingdom and his government—by instructions of the Khusrú of the age, Shaháb ul Hak wa ud dín, Sikandar us Sáni, the Ulugh Ázam, Humáyun Zafar Khán . . . of the empire, may God perpetuate his kingdom and his government, and extend his years, . . . and under his own royal superintendence and orders, on the 1st of Muharram, A.H. 697."

I am indebted to Colonel Nassau Lees for the above rough  
translation of the original inscription, which was prepared by

ار پدر آمدن شادھان کیکاؤس بر برادر . . .

—Lucknow, lithographed edition of the *Kairn us Sádáin*, A.H. 1261, p 102, and  
Prof. Cowell, in J.A.S. Bengal, 1860, p 234

4. *Shahr Nau* I suppose to have been the intitulation of the new city founded near the site of the old Lakhnauti:<sup>1</sup> it is variously denominated as the simple 'Arsat or اَرْسَاتْ (populous, richly cultivated).<sup>2</sup> This progressively less appropriate name may be supposed to have merged into the official Jannatábád, which follows in mint sequence.

5. *Sonargaon*, as a rule, retains its ancient discriminative

<sup>1</sup> The decipherment of the name of this mint (as Colonel Yule remarks) determines for mediæval geography the contested site of Niccolò Conti's *Cernore*. The Venetian traveller in the East in the early part of the fifteenth century is recorded to have said that "he entered the mouth of the river Ganges, and, sailing up it, at the end of fifteen days he came to a large and wealthy city called Cernove . . . On both banks of the stream there are most charming villas and plantations and gardens . . . Having departed hence, he sailed up the river Ganges for the space of three months, leaving behind him four very famous cities, and landed at an extremely powerful city called Marazia, . . . having spent thirteen days 'on an expedition to some mountains to the eastward in search of carbuncles,' . . . he returned to the city of Cernove, and thence proceeded to Buffetania."—The travels of Niccolò Conti, Hakluyt Society, London, pp. 10, 11.

See also Purchas, vol. v p 508, and Murray's Travels in Asia, n 11.

There are also many interesting details regarding the geography of Bengal, and a very full and lucid summary of the history of the period, to be found in "Da Ásia de João de Barros" (Lisbon, 1777, vol. iv. [viii], p 465, *et seq.*) At the period of the treaty of Alfonso de Mello with "El Rey Mamud de Bengala" (the king whom Shir Sháh eventually overcame), the name of Shahr Nau had merged into the old provincial designation of *Gaur*, which is described as "A principal Cidade deste Reino he chamada *Gouro*, situada nas correntes do Gange, e dizem ter de comprido tres leguas das noasas, e duzentos mil vizinhos" (p 458) Satigam makes a prominent figure on the map, and Sornagam is located on a large island within the Delta, the main stream dividing it from Daca, which is placed on the opposite or left bank of the estuary.

More modern accounts of the old city may be found in Purchas, 1. 579, Churchill, viii 54, also Rennell, Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan, London, 1788, p 55, Stewart, p 44, and in a special work entitled "The Ruins of Gour," illustrated with maps, plans, and engravings of the numerous Muhammadan edifices extant in 1817, by H. Creighton, 4to, London, Black, Parbury, & Allen. See also Elliot's Glossary of Indian Terms, *sub toto*, Gour Brahmin.

<sup>2</sup> The adjective (derived from *colat*) will admit of other meanings, and, if understood as applying to a town, might signify "well built," locally *pakka*

designation of حضرۃ جلال, *Hazrat-i-Jalál*, a title which it eventually had to cede to its rival Mu'azamábád.

6. *Mu'azamábád*. There is no definite authority for the determination of the site of this city, which, however, seems to have been founded by Sikandar bin Iliás about 758-759 A.H., when his own coins record that he himself assumed the title of **الْمَعْظَم**, without trenching upon the superlative **الْمَعْظَمُ**, usually reserved for the reigning monarch, his father. I conclude that there was a gradual migration from the ancient Sonárgaon to the new city, which grew in importance from the governmental centre implied in the اقتیام اتابک of 760 A.H. to the ملکة اتابک **الْمَعْظَم**, "the great city of Mu'azamábád," of about 780 A.H., till, on the disappearance of the name of Sonárgaon from the marginal records of the general currency, the new metropolis appropriates to itself the immemorial حضرۃ جلال of Eastern Bengal.<sup>1</sup>

I refer for the moment to No. 7, *Ghiaspúr*, which Col Haughton informs me is near Gaur, about one mile N.W. of Maldah; and I take the opportunity of remarking that the sole remaining name of *Jannatabad*, an epithet which is erroneously stated to have been given by Humáyún to the re-edified Lakhnauti,<sup>2</sup> is here seen to have been in use a century and a half before the later Mughal dynasty of India made its way into Bengal.

<sup>1</sup> Dr Blochmann remarks in regard to the site of this city—"The two mints, Mu'azamabad and Ghiaspúr, of Thomas, can perhaps be verified, the former is probably the same as Mu'azzampúr in Sonárgaon, the latter belongs to Lakhnauti"—Proceedings As Soc. Bengal, April, 1870, p 121

<sup>2</sup> *Ain-i-Akbari*, ii. p 11, Stewart's Bengal, 124. Bengal itself was called جنة الارض "The Paradise of Regions" Ibn Batutah, iv p 210, says the Persians called Bengal **بَرْ سَعْدَةٍ** "ce qui signifie," en arabe, "un enfer rempli de biens." (The original Arabic text quotes the passage in imperfect Persian as **لَوْزَخَسْتَ بَرْ نَزَعَ**) Marsden, Num. Orient p 578, gives a coin of 'Alá-ud-din Husun Sháh, of A.H. 917, purporting to have been struck at "Jannatabad."

The single item remaining to be mentioned in regard to the later mints is the substitution of the word **الله** in lieu of **الله**<sup>1</sup> as the prefix to Firuzábád, in parallel progress towards centralization with the mint phraseology adopted in the case of Satgaon

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### THIRTEENTH KING (A H 695, A D 1295)

On the assassination of his father, in the camp of 'Alá ud dín, in Ramazán A H 695 Rukn ud dín Ibráhím<sup>2</sup> was elevated to the throne of Hindustán. His mother, Mahka<sup>1</sup> Jahán who retained her influence in the city of Dehlí, in her haste to secure a representative of royalty, selected him in preference to the proper heir, Arkali Khán, who was absent at his post at Multan. This gave Ibráhím a temporary existence as a king — a dignity which otherwise, as a younger son and a minor he was neither entitled nor fitted to hold. 'Alá ud dín, having already at his command a powerful army, and the wealth of the Dakhan supplying him with unlimited means of increasing his forces and conciliating wavering opponents had merely to advance on the capital to put an end to the rule of the boy Sultan, whose safety was for a time secured by a precipitate flight to Multan.

<sup>1</sup> الله regn, also opp dum. The plurals are said to vary in correspondence with the independent meanings as **للان** and **بلدان**.

<sup>2</sup> ملک رک الدن بدر حابرا ابراهیم شاد خطاب شد  
—Tárikh Mubárik Sháhí, MS and Zíá Barn text p 181

No 126 (pl II fig 54) Silver Weight, 167 grs Dehli, A.H. 695  
Unique (Lord Auckland's collection, B.M.)

|                   |                        |
|-------------------|------------------------|
| السلطان الاعظم    | السلطان الاعظم         |
| حکم الدسا و الدين | رکن الدسا و الدين      |
| فرور شاد ساصل     | ابو المطفر ابراهيم شاد |
| امیر المؤمنین     | السلطان س              |

Margin—

صرف هذا الفضة حضرت دہلی سہ حمس و تسع و سماں

The modification in the general tenor of the legends of this piece seems to mark the confessed insecurity of the rule of the new king, the insertion of the name and titles of the late Sultan at full length looks like an appeal to the allegiance of the adherents of the father's throne, an apostrophe in favour of the direct line against the threatened claims of the too powerful nephew. The usual record of the name and title of the long since defunct Al Mustasim is replaced by the attribution to the deceased Firuz Shah of the ancient, but latterly disused designation of *Násir Amir al Mumínin*

No 127 (pl II fig 55) Silver and copper Weight, 52 grs Rare

السلطان الاعظم رکن الدسا و الدين—  
*Obverse*

ابراهيم شاد بن فرور شاد—  
*Reverse*

No 128 Copper Weight, 59 grs New variety Similar in  
types to No 52, pl II My cabinet .

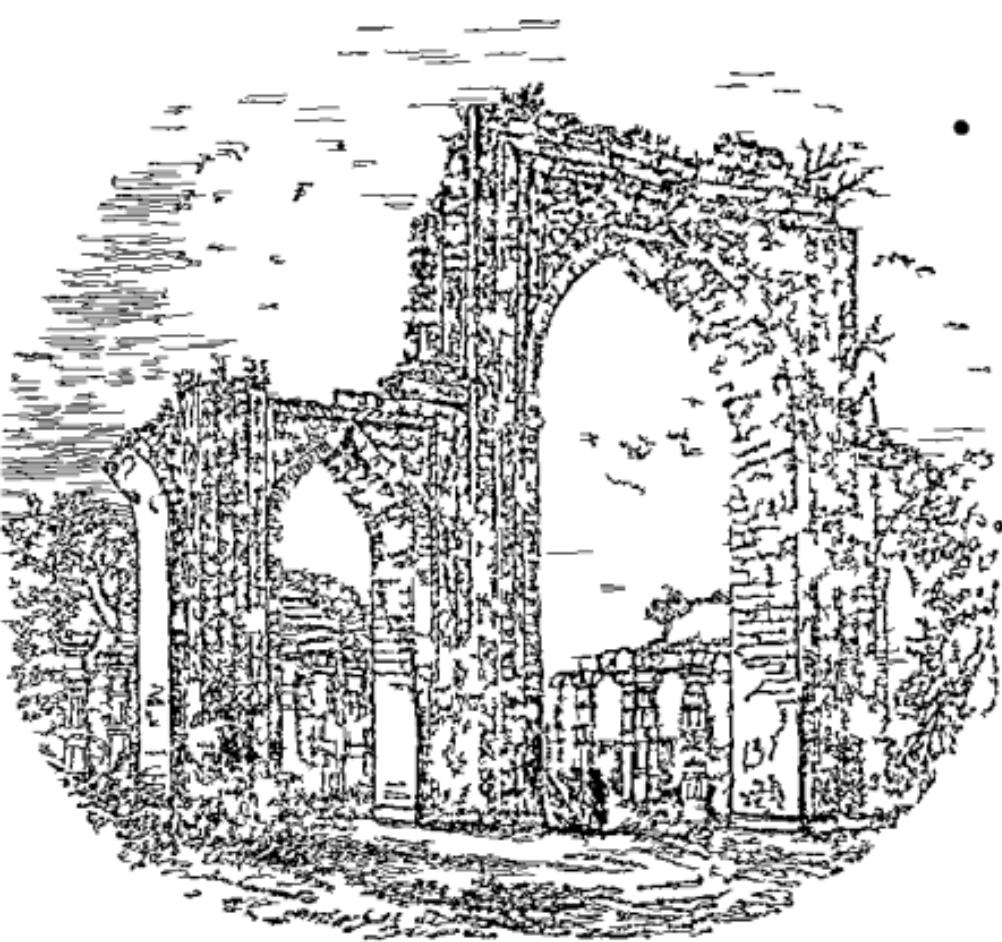
السلطان الاعظم—  
*Obverse*

ابراهيم شاد بن فرور شاد—  
*Reverse*

No 129 (pl II fig 56) Copper Weight, 38 grs Rare

عدل ابراهيم شاد—  
*Obverse*

بن فرور شاد—  
*Reverse*



Alá ud-dín's Arches at the Kuta (with the annexed Hindu columns in the background) from a sketch by J. Fergusson, Esq.

The glory of the mosque however is not in these Hindu remains but in the great range of arches on the west end extending north and south for about 335 feet and consisting of three greater and eight smaller arches the central one 22 feet wide and 53 high, the larger side arches 24 feet 4 inches. —Fergusson's *Handbook of Architecture* ii p 649

#### FOURTEENTH KING (A H 695-715, A D 1295-1315)

'Alá ud-dín *Mulammad Shah* went through the almost needless form of a double coronation, he clearly felt himself

his recently-acquired conquests in the Dakhan, from the moment he let fall the too-confiding hand of the monarch to whom he owed so much, and whom he so foully ensnared and murdered; he therefore lost no time in assuming the insignia of royalty in his camp at Karra, on the 16th of Ramazán, A.H. 695. This act, as it were, constituted the symbolical assumption of the regal turband of the south; he had still to win the jeweled tiara of Imperial Dehli. In the attainment of this object he proceeded with his accustomed energy and craft, but the scale seems to have been finally turned by the empty treasury of legitimacy at the capital and the superabundant resources of the spoiler of the Idolaters. His catapults, instead of projecting hard stones against the city walls, were employed, as toys, in scattering largesses among the greedy multitude, for which purpose the unconverted stars of the southern peninsula<sup>1</sup> were peculiarly appropriate. The Maliks and Amírs, each in his own degree, received retainers, in some instances to the amount of 50 *mans* of gold. And so the Indian world welcomed him, it might be said, in the words of the Latin poet—

“Era dabant' olim; melius nunc omen in auro est;”

Ovid Fast, i 220.

On the 22nd Zi'l hijjah, 695, the new Sultán was formally enthroned in the ancient fort of Prithví Rája.<sup>2</sup>

I will not attempt to recapitulate the political events of this long reign; they were of the ordinary character—insurrections,<sup>3</sup> invasions of the Mughals, one of which claims a

<sup>1</sup> The daily distribution amounted to *نج من اخترزز* “five *mans* of star gold” See also note under coin No. 131, page 169

<sup>2</sup> Tárikh 'Alá; Elliot's Historians, iii 69.

<sup>3</sup> One of these revolts was nearly fatal to the Sultán's life, another was so far remarkable that, while the Sultán was occupied in the siege of Rantambhor, a

'ALA UD DÍN MUHAMMAD'S ENFORCED RATES OF PRICES OF PROVISIONS,  
ETC

A.H. 703 716 = A.D. 1303-1315

| Wheat, <i>حَبْسَه</i>                                            | per man         | 7½ <i>jital</i> <sup>1</sup> |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|------------------------------|
| Barley, <i>حُو</i>                                               | "               | 4 "                          |
| Rice, in husk, <i>شَائِي</i>                                     | "               | 5 "                          |
| Mash, <i>مَاش</i> , vetch ( <i>Phaseolus radiatus</i> ).         | "               | 5 "                          |
| Nakhud, <i>نَخُود</i> , pulse ( <i>Cicer arietinum</i> )         | "               | 5 "                          |
| Moth, <i>مُوْهَ</i> , lentil ( <i>Phaseolus aconiti-folius</i> ) | "               | 3 "                          |
| Sugar, <i>شَكْرَتِي</i>                                          | per <i>sir.</i> | 1½ "                         |
| Brown sugar, <i>شَكْرَ سَرْج</i> ( <i>Gur</i> )                  | "               | ½ "                          |
| Butter, <i>غَل</i> ( <i>Ghee</i> ), <i>رَوْعَنْ سَتُور</i>       | 2½ <i>sirs.</i> | 1 "                          |
| Oil of Sesamum, <i>كَبْجَد</i> <i>رَوْعَنْ</i>                   | 3 "             | 1 "                          |
| Salt, <i>نِمَكْ</i>                                              | 2½ <i>mans.</i> | 5 "                          |

The *jital*, as will hereafter appear, is  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a silver *tankah*

<sup>1</sup> Calcutta printed edition of the text of Zia Barni, pp 305, 310, and independent MSS, also Tabakat-i Akbari MS, E I H, No 997, p 61 Briggs's return of the price of wheat is erroneous the درمی "per man," of the original had been corrupted into درمی, hence the statement of "7½ *jals* per domuny" Elliot's Historians, m. 192 The Bombay text of Ferishtah is right in the درمی, p 196 See also Jour As Soc Bengal, 1870, p 25, Major Fuller's excellent translation of Zia Barni, with comments by Dr Blochmann I have adopted Dr Blochmann's emendation of the Persian text of the Bibliotheca Indica as far as refers to نِمَك "salt," in lieu of the printed 'Alá-u-

which, however, is very constant in the various MSS but I retain شکرتی here to the pronunciation of *Kohrdm*, on the faith of the local speech already *Sultan*,

of 175 grs.; at the exchange of 2s. per *tankah*, the *jital* would therefore correspond in value to 1½ farthing, or rather less, as the 2s. is a very high rate of exchange for the old silver piece. The Dehli *sir*, of an approximate date, is stated to have been 70 *miskáls*, and the *man* 40 *sirs*<sup>1</sup>. Now, taking the weight of the *miskál* at the even average of 72 grains, the *sir* would range at 5040 grains (or 720 grains less than the Troy pound of 5760 grains), and the *man* would amount to 201,600 grains, or 35 lbs. troy, and 28 8 lbs. avoirdupois, or a little over the quarter of a hundredweight, or less than half a bushel of wheat.<sup>2</sup> To complete the evidence contributed by this foreign statistician, we must examine a second or alternative test, which he introduces, apparently for the more ready comprehension of the western world, in the form of a parallel estimate of the Indian *man* under its equivalent in Egyptian *dirhams*. Of these latter, 102<sup>3</sup> are stated to correspond in weight with the Dehli *sir*. Now, although the *dirhams* of the Mamlúks of Egypt of this period, in their tangible and once current form, would only lead to endless complications as bases of calculation,<sup>4</sup> yet the quasi-theoretical scheme of the normal Arabian system of the relative weights of gold and silver coins, gives us a curious approximation to the return obtained from the simple calculation just

<sup>1</sup> Le roul (roul) de l'Inde, qui porte le nom de *sir*, pèse 70 *miskáls*, qui, estimés en dirhams d'Egypte, en valent 102<sup>3</sup>. Quarante *sir* forment un *man* مس. واحد. On ne connaît pas dans l'Inde la méthode de mesurer les grains —Not et Est xii p 212

I see that Colonel Yule, in his "Cathay and the way thither" (Hakluyt Society) II 458, has adopted the French estimate of the *man*, i.e. 28 78 lbs

<sup>2</sup> A bushel of wheat is estimated to weigh 60 lbs avoirdupois —McCulloch, Com. Dict. p 1397. Princep, with less exact data, made the bushel 60 lbs avoirdupois —Useful Tables, p 113

<sup>3</sup> Eighteen specimens I have weighed in the B M, ranging within the period of A H 655 and 747, vary to the extent of from 37 grains up to 63

formulated. Whatever may have been the weight of the *miskal proper* in various localities, in many cases the *dinár* continued to be a *miskal* pure and simple; and theory was ordinarily consistent in recognising the weight of the silver *dirham* as 7-10ths of the gold piece. Under this aspect we have to examine a new scale of proportions. the latest and most exhaustive authority, M Queipo,<sup>1</sup> has fixed the actual weight of the representative Egyptian *miskal* at 4 666 grammes, or 72 007 grains. This return will make the *dirham* equal to 50 405 grains, the *sīr*=5174 grains, and the *man*=206,983 grains, or over 29 lbs. avoirdupois. The estimate formed by the French editors of Ibn Batutah,<sup>2</sup> in regard to that African traveller's independent comparisons of Dehli weights with those of the west, arrives at a closely approximate return. The *man* of Dehli is stated, on repeated occasions in the Arabic text, to be equivalent to 20 Barbary *ratls*, or 25 Egyptian *ratls*, and the former are fixed by the calculations of the modern commentators as corresponding to two-thirds of a French kilogramme of 15,432 35 grains troy, or  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *ratls*=1 kilogramme, which makes the *man* equal to 28 78 lbs avoirdupois.

<sup>1</sup> Don V Queipo, in his *Essai sur les Systèmes Métriques et Monétaires des anciens peuples* (Paris, 1859), makes the Almoravid *dindr*, theoretical weight, 3 960 grammes, general weight, 3 945 grammes. The Arabic *dindr*, theoretical weight, 4 250 grammes, general weight, 4 228 grammes. The *miskal* (Arabic) of Egypt, theoretical weight, 4 720 grammes, general weight, 4 666 grammes.

<sup>2</sup> MM G Defrémy and B R Sangunetti. Paris édition (Société Asiatique) A.D. 1805

Ibn Batutah tells us that the *man* of Dehli was equal to 20 *ratls* of Barbary  
 نَمْ دَهْلِي وَ الْمَنُّ الْوَاحِدُ مِنْهَا حِمْسَةُ وَ عَشْرُونَ رَطْلًا مَصْرَةً 74  
 وَ الْمَنُّ عَشْرُونَ رَطْلًا مَعْرِيَّةً 430. p. 430. وَ الرَّطْلُ الْبَهْدِيُّ عَشْرُونَ رَطْلًا مَسْ  
 ارْطَالَ الْمَغْرِبَ وَ خِمْسَةُ وَ عَشْرُونَ مِنْ ارْطَالَ مَصْرَةً 382  
 and again 210. وَ الرَّطْلُ الدَّهْلِيُّ عَشْرُونَ رَطْلًا مَعْرِيَّةً

I do not follow out in further detail these western comparisons, which are in a measure speculative, as I am satisfied to accept what may be termed the internal evidence as my test. Tried by this criterion, India at the present day furnishes a very complete series of *man* weights,<sup>1</sup> which all the incidental changes of time and the imperfectly preserved units of scattered localities have but very slightly removed from the standard testified to by the intelligent travellers of the middle of the eighth century of the Hijrah.

Any attempt to determine with precision the authoritative weight of the *man* or other measures of grain, must be associated with the crucial test of corroborative coin equivalents. From time immemorial, in India, coins had been, to all intents and purposes, *weights*, pieces of money, in our sense of the term, having grown out of the archaic use of sections of metal of a fixed and determinate gravity, following the popular form of small square or oblong plates of silver, designated by the appropriate name of *Puranas* (पुराण 'old')<sup>2</sup> But when these crude sections of metal, like the link of the

<sup>1</sup> The local *mans* approximating to this weight still in use in 1871 A.D. may be cited in alphabetical order.

|                         | lbs | oz | dr |                      | lbs | oz | dr |
|-------------------------|-----|----|----|----------------------|-----|----|----|
| Anjar Bhuj              | 27  | 3  | 8  | Madras               | 25  | 0  | 0  |
| Anjengo Travancore      | 28  | 0  | 0  | Madurā               | 29  | 0  | 0  |
| Bengalore               | 25  | 0  | 0  | Mangalor             | 28  | 2  | 4  |
| Belgaum                 | 26  | 3  | 15 | Negapatam            | 25  | 0  | 0  |
| Bellary                 | 25  | 6  | 0  | Onor in Canara       | 28  | 8  | 0  |
| " (ma : for cotton)     | 26  | 5  | 4  | Ujjain               | 33  | 5  | 13 |
| Bombay                  | 28  | 0  | 0  | Pond cherry          | 25  | 14 | 5½ |
| C rwa, Canara           | 26  | 0  | 0  | Quilon Travancore    | 27  | 5  | 8  |
| Canara <i>ord narly</i> | 28  | 0  | 0  | Sankaridrēg Carnatic | 25  | 0  | 0  |
| Cochin, Malabar         | 27  | 2  | 11 | Seringapatam—light   | 24  | 4  | 8  |
| Puna (ma : for metals)  | 27  | 9  | 9½ | heavy                | 33  | 15 | 12 |
| Kotā Ajmir              | 30  | 0  | 0  | Trichinopoly         | 25  | 0  | 0  |

—Prinsep's Useful Tables p 115 and Mr W H Bayley's MS Notes

knight's chain, passed into the more advanced grade of "coined money," they were still scrupulously made to contribute to the double purpose of measures of metallic value and officially recognized weights.<sup>1</sup> Their importance, in the latter capacity, consisting in their furnishing readily available tests of any disputed higher weights or measures, so liable to be tampered with by shopkeepers from all time and among all nations.<sup>2</sup> So completely was this their second mission accepted in the land, that in later days, under Sikandar bin Buhlól (A.H. 854-894), the idea was conceived of extending the already mixed duties of the public coinage into a means of determining measures of length, so that the sufficiency of the cloth merchant's yard should be instantaneously checked by the very money of the customer in which he was to receive payment. The earlier phases of these imperfect schemes of exchange, when primitive peoples were first emancipating themselves from the inconveniences of crude barter, and replacing undefined handfuls by specific measures of weight, may be traced back to the first contact of the Aryans and the Indigènes, when the pastoral tribes of the former impinged upon the urban communities of the latter, whose civilization partook so largely of the Turanian element. There is internal evidence in the composite table of weights preserved in "the Laws of Manu," of contributions from the independent resources of both races. Aryan thought, crudely developed at first, confined itself to the ever

<sup>1</sup> There is a special injunction in *Manu*, addressed to the King—"Let all weights and measures be well ascertained by him, and once in six months let him re-examine them"—*Manu*, viii. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Ala-ud din had great trouble with this class of his subjects; and among the punishments awarded for short weights, we find a very distinct provision for the pound of flesh—"Whatever was found deficient" in the articles purchased was made up by "flesh equal to the deficiency," cut from the seller's "two cheeks" [buttocks]—Regulation 4, J.A.S.B. 1870, p. 39. Elliot's *Historians*, iii. 197.

ready standard of barley—a grain they held in high honour, and beyond the cultivation of which their herdsmen do not seem to have progressed in the Vedic age.<sup>1</sup> As intelligence advanced, and the subtle faculties of the exotic mind were brought into play, the tendency was clearly towards infinitesimals, so that the checks and counter checks laid down are found to include every shade of variety of the produce of the soil that human ingenuity could set against each other.<sup>2</sup>

It was the duty of barley to testify against mustard-seed if the latter failed in its full maturity; mustard, in its coloured varieties, had to qualify the poundage of poppy-seed, which again had to go through the severe trial of being pitted against impalpable dust. Encouraged by these tangible minutiae, the Aryan Brahmins seem to have ventured upon the introduction of fanciful and purely imaginary quantities, so that measures of weight vanished into thin air (to an extent to defy the keenest modern Microscopist).<sup>3</sup> But in all

<sup>1</sup> Wilson's Rig Veda, 1 pp xli, lvi., and in p xi. Max Müller (Chips, 1 p 31) renders this as "corn," he does not say wheat. The adherence to reckoning by barley corns is curiously shown in the later Vedic literature, where, in spite of the presence of the *rati*, "the bar of gold" is defined "as of the size of three barley-corns."—Weber, Zeitschrift, xv. (1861), 139. Prof Weber further remarks that the term *masha* is not found at all in texts supposed to be Vedic.

<sup>2</sup> "Manu, viii. 131. Those names of copper, silver, and gold [weights] which are commonly used among men for the purpose of worldly business, I will now comprehensively explain. 132. The very small mote which may be discerned in a sunbeam passing through a lattice is the first of quantities, and men call it a *trasarenu*. 133. Eight of those *trasarenu*s are supposed equal in weight to one minute poppy seed (*ulihya*), three of those seeds are equal to one black mustard seed (*reja sarshapa*), and three of these last to a white mustard seed (*gaura-sarshapa*). 134. Six white mustard-seeds are equal to a middle sized barley-corn (*yata*), three such barley-corns to one *Krishnala* [raktiska], five *Krishnala*s of gold are one *masha* " etc.

<sup>3</sup> "MANU, YÁJNAVALKYA, and NÁRADA, trace all weights from the least visible quantity, which they concur in naming *trasarenu* (त्रसरेणु), and describing as the very small mote which may be discerned in a sunbeam passing through 'a lattice.' Writers on medicine proceed a step further, and affirm that

cases of the more clearly defined weights of Manu, there seems to have been a serious intent and supposed power of proof by the test of seeds, balanced against other varieties of seed. The altered conditions of culture, and the uncertainty of the exact locality which furnished the data for ancient calculations, may deny us the power of reconstructing the general scheme, but there is no doubt that the early tables were designed to supply a normal and ever ready criterion by means of single or multiplied totals of indigenous grains, which from time immemorial had centered in the convenient goldsmith's *ati*, which, though not exclusively Indian, was of such universal acceptance throughout the continent as to be essentially traditional, and it is from this starting point, or unit in the ascending scale, that the purely Indian weights proceed each, in its turn again, following some readily accessible product of nature peculiar to the soil.

'Ala ud din, as we have seen, was particular about his metric system, and probably the full force of ancient methods of reckoning still survived in the existing weights, so that some one description of current money ought so to fit in with and confirm the estimated amount of the *man* as to balance into even sums, or an approach thereto. Neither the 175

a *trasarénu* contains 30 *paramdnas* or atoms they describe the *trasarénu* in words of the same import with the definitions given by MANU, and they furnish another name for it, *varsi*. According to them 86 *varsi* make one *marichi* or sensible portion of light. Writers on medicine trace this weight (the *rati*) from the smallest sensible quantity in another order.

30 *paramdnas* or atoms—1 *trasarénu* or *varsi*  
 86 *varsi*—1 *marichi* or sensible quantity of light.  
 6 *marichi*—1 *rágied* or black mustard seed  
 3 *rágieds*—1 *shershapa* or white mustard seed  
 8 *shershapas*—1 *yara*, or barley corn  
 4 *yaras* 1 g. jd or *raktakd*

A *raktakd* is also said to be equal to 4 grains of rice in the husk. —Sir Wm Jones's Works, v. vii, p. 870

grain *tankahs* (the old *sataraktika*=100 *ratis*), nor the newly-devised *'adalis* of 140 grains (80 *ratis*), will divide into the equivalent number of grains now assigned to the *man*, but, strange to say, the ancient *puranas*, whose modern representatives abound in the coinage of the day, taken at the rate of 32 *ratis*, or 56 gruns, fill in the exact sum of 201,600 grains, without even the break of a fraction, either in the totals of the *sir* or the *man*. 90 *puranas* represent the *sir*, and 3,600 give the measure of the *man*. The *ratis*, however, in either case are uneven, viz., 2880 and 115200, but this fact need not disturb the result, as the *ratis* in the higher measures of produce, as in the *Ghi* table, I shall have occasion to quote hereafter from the *Jyotisha*, run into all sorts of irregular totals.

It may freely be conceded that this intervention of nines and twelves is opposed to the scale of multiples in the *quasi*-Turanian division of the Tables of Manu, where the dominant idea among the tangible weights is confined to fours and tens, culminating in three hundred and twenties and three thousand two hundreds, but if another section of the evidence is examined, it will be found that these 56 grain coins do not themselves accord with the theoretical scheme of the associate currency of the first half of the eighth century A H. This is a question which will have to be treated more at large later in our inquiry, but it is adverted to in this place as it has an important bearing upon the point immediately at issue. On the other hand, if we examine the Tables of Manu in their lower or fanciful divisions, the mystic threes and ordinary sixes are found to be sufficiently frequent, from which figures alone we might infer that the Aryans had originated this portion of the combined table of weights.

From whatever source derived, India is seen to have achieved, in very archaic periods,<sup>1</sup> either out of her marked indigenous aptitudes, or her frequent chances of exotic inspiration, a very comprehensive system of weights and measures, extending to the elaboration of a binary Troy scheme,<sup>2</sup> associated with all the essentials of an independent Avoirdupois theory, which, perhaps wisely, avoided any recognition of measures of capacity

*'Alá ud din Muhammad Shah*

No 130 (Marsden, 1800) Gold<sup>3</sup> Weights, 168 6, 169 5,  
and 166 grs *Dehli*, A H 704, 709, 711

Circular area

سكندر الشهابي  
سین الصلة ناصر  
امیر المؤمنین

The legend occupies the full  
face of the coin

السلطان

علال الدسا و الدنس  
أبو المظفر محمد شاد

السلطان

Margin—*Margin* صرف هذه السکه محرّة دهلي في سه تسع و سعماية—

<sup>1</sup> The age of Manu is undetermined. Wilson attributes portions of the work to 800 B.C. (Translation, Rig Veda, I. p. xlvi.) M. Vivien de St. Martin says "la période des temps héroïques," i.e. 13th and 12th centuries B.C. (L'étude de Paris, 1859, and Revue Germanique, 1861, p. 80) Max Muller (Sanskrit Literature, pp. 61-133, and his Letter in Morley's Digest, p. cxvii) Prof. Cowell prefers "3rd century B.C.," but adds that it was "undoubtedly composed from older documents" (Elphinstone's India, p. 249). The *Jyotisha* Table, which is given at full in the general summary of Muhammad bin Tughlak's coin weights is also supposed to date some centuries B.C. (Über den Veda-Kalender, Namen Jyotisham, von A. Weber, Berlin, 1862).

<sup>2</sup> There were separate tables for gold and silver.

<sup>3</sup> Prinsep's assay of these gold pieces gives a return of 94.5% pure gold in 100 parts of 94.2. Jalál ud-din (Firuz) s gold is placed at 94.5, while Akbar's average mounts up to 100. 100—Useful Tables, n. 60.

No 131 *Gold, Variety* (Small thick coin, pale gold )

Weight, 158 grs Size, 4, or 0 71 inch diameter B M

Legends as in the Metropolitan pieces, but the Persian characters follow a different system of writing, and are very imperfectly defined. These coins seem to have been direct remittances of the southern gold *huns*, without any attempt at refining the metal up to the higher Dehli standard<sup>1</sup>. They furnish, in short, another instance of the facilities of the rough system of converting plunder into camp currencies on the instant.

I am indebted to Sir Walter Elliot, S I, for the following note upon the southern "stars," the palpable plunder of the south —

"I do not think the 'Akhtar Zar' can refer to the Star pagoda, which had a very limited range, being confined to the province of Arcot, and appearing after the fall of the last of the independent Hindu kingdoms, when every petty Zamindar began to exercise the privilege of coining money.

"The currency of the Dakhān seems always to have been gold under the Hindus. The standard was the *hūn* (in Dravidian, *hōn pon*), but the circulation was carried on chiefly by means of its fractional parts, the *panam* or *fanam*, as is the case in Travancore—the only existing normal Hindu state—to this day. There, the dealings of the bazar and the collection of the revenue are all made in *fanams*, but as the labour and trouble of reckoning large sums in such a shape would be intolerable, the cashiers and *serdārs* are pro-

<sup>1</sup> "By the attention of his Majesty (Akbar Shāh) gold and silver are refined to the highest degree of purity. The highest degree of purity is called in Persian *dahdahī* but they do not know above ten degrees of fineness, whilst in India it is called *bārahbānī* as they have twelve degrees. Formerly the old *hūn*, which is a gold coin current in the Dakhān, was thought to be pure, and reckoned at ten degrees but his Majesty has now fixed it at 8½ and the round, small gold dinar of Alā ud dīn, which was considered to be 12 degrees, now turns out to be 10½ —Ain-i Akbari, Block nann, p 18

vided with wooden boards, the surface of which is studded with 100 or 1000 cavities, the exact size of a *fanam*, which they plunge into the heap of coin, and by a little manual dexterity, take up the exact sum and throw it aside.

In early times, not only the *fanam*, but the half and quarter *fanam* were in use. I have specimens of all of these, bearing the impress of the Chalukya boar, the Pandyan fish, and other effigies of dates far anterior to the Star pagodas. There seems little doubt, therefore, that حسر جر refers to the sacks of *fanams* which Malik Kafur brought from the south and poured out before the admiring eyes of the king of Delhi, and which the historian has aptly described as showers of "golden stars". Some of the halves and quarters are just like little scales of gold, and a stream of them issuing from the bag in which they were kept would sparkle as they fell. The ancient coins are thinner and finer than the more recent examples.<sup>1</sup>

"When the Dewani of the southern districts first came into our hands, at the beginning of the century, the revenue was all collected in *fanams*".

<sup>1</sup> The average weight of the gold *fanam* is 6 grains, of the half *fanam* 3 grains, and the quarter 1½ grains.

| Tested weights of the gold <i>fanams</i> : half and quarter <i>fanams</i> of S. India | grs  | ster | grs   |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|------|-------|
| Three Buddhist <i>fanams</i> with the impress of a lion and sword                     | 19.8 | =    | 6.6   |
| (Numismatic Gleanings Madras Journal No I fig 38)                                     |      |      |       |
| One ditto half ditto with lion only (Num. Gl. I 39)                                   |      |      | 2.9   |
| Two Chalukya <i>fanams</i> , with the boar (Num. Gl. II 6-9)                          | 12.6 | =    | 6.3   |
| One ditto quarter ditto (Num. Gl. II 10)                                              |      |      | 1.5   |
| One ditto ditto                                                                       |      |      | 1.35  |
| Two Chola <i>fanams</i>                                                               | 15   | =    | 7.5   |
| Two ditto half ditto                                                                  | 6.6  | =    | 3.3   |
| One Chera <i>fanam</i> with elephant                                                  |      |      | 6     |
| Two Pandyan ditto with fish                                                           | 12.3 | =    | 6.15  |
| Two ditto ditto, with different type                                                  | 12.7 | =    | 6.35  |
| Two <i>fanams</i> with a fish and monkey                                              | 14.4 | =    | 7.2   |
| One ditto ditto a little different                                                    |      |      | 6.8   |
| One quarter ditto fish and monkey type                                                |      |      | 1.4   |
| S 2 Velankanni <i>fanams</i> , of more recent date, probably of the                   |      |      |       |
| Bijapur Raj                                                                           | 35.3 | =    | 5.883 |
| Four Bahadur <i>fanams</i> , coined by Haider Ali ruler of Mysore                     |      |      |       |
| at the Ikkeri mint                                                                    | 22.8 | =    | 6.7   |

No 132 (pl. in fig. 57, Marsden, pccv) *Silver* Weight, up to 168 grs Common<sup>1</sup> *Dehli* Dates observed, A.H. 695, 698, 699, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, and 715

Legends similar to those on the gold currency Areas as usual in the silver money, with a broad margin on the Reverse, as follows ---

حرب مدد الفضة حمراء دهلي في سنة اثنى عشر و سعماه

No 133 *Silver* coins similar to No 132, but struck at دارالاسلام (Dehli<sup>2</sup>) in A.H. 703, 705, 706, 708, 710, 713, 714 Weight, 166 grs

No 134 (Gold B.M. A.H. 711) Similar coins, in silver, minted at قلعه دیوگر Deogir,<sup>3</sup> in A.H. 714 Weight, 167 grs

These coins are remarkable, as affording the earliest specimens available of the Muhammadan coinage of the lately conquered city of Deogir, a capital so peculiarly identified with the history of 'Alá-ud-dín's early rise and eventual accession to sovereignty

The year 711 impressed upon one of the pieces under review offers a date but little removed from the epoch of Náib Kafur's more comprehensive subjection of the central Indian provinces, of which Deogir then constituted the metropolis

<sup>1</sup> 'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad Sháh seems to have coined money enough for many future generations inasmuch as we find that on Timur's conquest of Dehli, in A.H. 801, among other plunder specified "vessels of gold and silver, and money with out count, on which was the impression of 'Alá-ud-dín Khilji ' Zafar Námah of Sherif ud-dín 'Alí Yezdi (A.D. 1424) —Translation by Captain Hollings in the Dehli Archaeological Society's Journal (1852), p. 22

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Batutah, in 261 دارالاسلام.

<sup>3</sup> Now Daulatabad, in the Dakhan Lat. 19° 57', long 75° 18' — Hamilton's Hindustán, p. 147 The old name was Tagara See also more full notes under Muhammad Tughlak's mint cities

O (Specimen) Inscription of 'Ala ud dín Muhammad Shah, on the arches at the Kutb dated 10th Shaw'al, A.H. 710<sup>1</sup>

حضرت علیا حدائقان سلطان مصطفی حاد الصادع الامر الله  
المخصوص بعایت اکرم الکرمیں علی الدین و الدین عوٹ الاسلام و  
الملائیں میر الملک و السلاطین القائم بتائید الرحمن ابو المطفر  
محمد شاه السلطان سکندر ثانی یمس الحلافة ناصر امیر المؤمنین  
حبل الله ملکہ بنا ایں حررات سست و حماعت است عمارت  
فرمود

Mir Khusru gives us the following account of the edifices erected and repaired by the Sultán 'Ala-ud dín —

"The Sultan determined upon adding to and completing the Masjid Jam'i of Shams ud dín, 'by building beyond the three old gates and courts a fourth, with lofty pillars,' 'and upon the surface of the stones he engraved the verses of the Kuran in such a manner as could not be done even on wood, ascending so high that you would think the Kuran was going up to heaven, and again descending, in another line, so low that you would think it was coming down from heaven. When the whole work was complete from top to bottom, he built other masjids in the city, so strong that if the nine vaulted and thousand eyed heavens were to fall, as they will, in the universe quake, on the day of resurrection, an arch of them would not be broken. He also repaired the old masjids, of which the walls were broken, or inclining, or of which the roof and domes had fallen. He then resolved to make a pair to the lofty minár of the Jama'i Masjid, which minar was then the single celebrated one of the time, and to raise<sup>it</sup> so high that it could not be exceeded. He first directed that the area of the square before the masjid should be increased, that there might be ample room for the followers of Islam. He ordered the circumference of the new minar to be<sup>make</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Vignette, p. 156, *supra*, and Syud Ahmad's work, pp. 21, 27, 58, etc.

double that of the old one, and to make it higher in the same proportion, and directed that a new casing and cupola should be added to the old one' The stones were dug out from the hills, and the temples of the infidels were demolished to furnish a supply He also ordered repairs to be made to all the other masjids and forts throughout the kingdom As the tank of Shams ud din was occasionally dry 'Ala ud din cleaned it out and repaired it, and erected a dome in the middle of it"—Elliot's Historians

Further accounts of Alá ud din's completion of the city of Siri are to be found in Zia Barni, Journal As Soc Bengal, 1870, p 22, and notices of the buildings at Dehli are also given in Mir Khusru's other work, the Kiran us S'adain, Lucknow edition, p 22 *et seq*

In speaking of the Mosque (at the Kutb) Ibn Batutah states—

"L'emplacement de cette mosquée était un boud Khanah, c'est à dire un temple d'idoles, mais, après la conquête de Dihly il fut convertie en mosquée Dans la cour septentrionale de la mosquée, se trouve le minaret, qui n'a pas son pareil dans toutes les contrées musulmanes le Sultan Kothb eddin [read 'Ala ud din] voulut bâtr, dans la cour occidentale, un minaret encore plus grand, il en construisit environ le tiers, et mourut avant de l'avoir achevé le Sultan Kothb [Ala] eddin avait formé aussi le projet de bâtr une mosquée cathédrale à Siry, surnommé le séjour du Khalifat (الخلافة), mais il n'en termina que le mur faisant face à la Mecque, et le mihrab"—Paris edition, m 152

#### COINS OF THE MOGHUL INVADERS

As the leading object of those human locusts, the Moghuls in their expeditions over the more civilized divisions of Asia, was mere plunder,<sup>1</sup> it was seldom that they left

<sup>1</sup> Babur's Memoirs (Erskine) 69

any record of their raids over the devoted lands beyond the devastation which marked their track. In the case of Khwájah Kutlugh, however, who pushed his forces up to the walls of Dchli, in 697-8 A.H.,<sup>1</sup> to be defeated ignominiously at last by Alá-ud-dín Muhammad Sháh, the hordo over which he ruled seem to have contemplated a more permanent occupancy of Southern soil, and to have established temporary head-quarters at Ghazní: here, and in less permanent camps, they put forth copper money, of which the following are specimens. In addition to these coins, with Persian legends, there are others of similar type and fabric, bearing Mongol characters, amid which the name of *Argún*<sup>2</sup> (A.H. 683-690) can be distinguished, and which associate themselves with the former currency by similarly placed *Tamghas*, in the form of crude outlines of  $\ddot{\text{ا}}$ , and more directly with India, in the use of a coarse type of Devanagari letters on the margin.

No. 139. Copper (My cabinet.) Ghazní

|           |                              |
|-----------|------------------------------|
| سرپ       | Small circular centre        |
| بی ملک غز | $\ddot{\text{ا}}$<br>Margin— |
| ه         | سکه بام قتلع خواجه           |

<sup>1</sup> Ferishtah, Briggs, 1. 329, Zia-i-Barni, p 259, Calcutta text, J A S Bengal, 1869, p 199, and 1870, p 43, D Ohsson, 11 520, Price, 11 616, De Guignes, 11 270, Elphinstone's India, 391. A plan of 'Alá-ud-dín's intrenchment, on the occasion of Tughi's investment of Dehli, in A.H. 703, is engraved, in illustration of Mr Campbell's article, in the Jour As Soc Bengal, 1866, p 217

<sup>2</sup> Argún, who held Persia and the proximate lands, is spoken of by Marco Polo as "King of India," cap 1 § 5

<sup>3</sup> A Tibetan  $\ddot{\text{ا}}$  =  $\ddot{\text{ا}}$  *chh.*

<sup>4</sup> The Bombay lithographed edition of *Wassif* gives the correct pronunciation of the name as قتلع خواجه شبرادر پسر توأ. The father's name is properly *Dud*

No. 140 Copper. (Col Stacey's collection Museum of the  
Asiatic Society of Bengal )

قتلى

Small circular centre

خواه

عدي

سکه

Margin— اس ... صرب

FIFTEENTH KING (A.H. 715; A.D. 1315).

The Eunuch Malik Náib Káfúr, the *Hazár Dímar* of early days, when that sum had been recently paid for him, whom we have seen perfidiously watching the failing strength, if not accelerating the end of 'Alá-ud-dín, now proceeded to carry out his schemes with less reserve; setting aside unhesitatingly those who were fit to reign, even to the exclusion of the publicly installed heir Khízr Khán,<sup>1</sup> he selected as his puppet

<sup>1</sup> This young prince's name is held in pleasant remembrance in the land in connexion with one of the few bits of sentiment the age has left on record. At a time when the rude Turks had given place to the more assimilative Khiljis, who were slowly domesticating themselves in their new home, and in their bolder raids into the depths of the south imperceptibly becoming Indianized, discovering in their progress that there existed a very archaic local nobility, whose chivalry they might well admire, they were led to seek for alliances with the daughters of these ancient houses. In the present instance, a damsel of gentle blood and great repute for beauty, the daughter of the Rája of Guzerát, named *Dewal Devi*, on whose behalf armies had already been set in motion, was captured, by hazard, with all her escort and conveyed to Dehli, where her own mother, *Kamali Devi*, by a similar chance, was found established as the favoured wife in the Imperial Palace. In such proximity no wonder that the young heir apparent appreciated her charms and was finally permitted to marry her in all form. The tale of their loves has been made the subject of a Persian poem, of 4,200 verses, the produce

a child, who was placed on the throne under the title of Shaháb-ud-dín 'Umar. Affairs seemed to be promising for the hero of so many southern campaigns, who had brought more plunder into the imperial treasury than even his most acquisitive master, when his own career was unexpectedly brought to a close by the swords of some *Pâiks*,<sup>1</sup> thirty-seven days after the death of 'Alá-nd-dín. In the meantime, as the 'rightful successor had been deprived of sight by Káfür, another brother of seventeen, by name Mubárik, was placed in the position of Regent for the youthful Sultán; but he did not long delay the almost inevitable consummation of a transfer of the crown to his own brow, and 'Umar's capacity to reign was determined for ever by the destruction of his eyes in his prison at Gwalior.

No 141 (pl. in fig. 63) Silver and copper. Weight, 54.5 grs  
Very rare A.H. 715.

|            |   |             |
|------------|---|-------------|
| أبو المظفر |   | السلطان     |
| عمر شاد    | . | طه شهاب الد |
| السلطان    | . | سياد الدين  |
| V.5        | . |             |

قصة حصر خان و دول رامی "The Story of Khur Khán and Dewal Rám" (Sprenger's Catalogue of Oude MSS p. 470) The interest in her tale is, however, sadly shaken by her after fate—the penalty of her beauty—as the enforced wife of two succeeding Sultans, one the brother and murderer of her husband, the other the foul Panish, the Usurper, Khu-rú, against whom her Rájput blood must, indeed, have risen.

SIXTEENTH KING (A.H. 716-720; A.D. 1316-1320).<sup>1</sup>

Of all the dangers that beset an Eastern throne, in latitudes like Dehli, none are more fatal to youthful monarchs than the free license of indulgence inseparable from despotism. In a country where morals were confessedly lax, and sensualism was elevated into a study, if not a science; where the enforced idleness of the mid-day hours was eminently suggestive to southern blood, nurtured under a religion which demanded but few denials, and where kings, in their degree, claimed to be khalifs; no wonder that these spiritual superiors sought to anticipate the imagined rewards of the Turk's paradise,<sup>2</sup> amid the living Houries of the lower world. These, and the coarser vices which descended to odious practices and obscene outrages upon decency, may well be left for us behind the screen of the walls of an Eastern Harem. It is sufficient to say that while the Sultán occupied himself with every variety of degrading debauchery, all power in the State was surrendered to a *Hindu*, who had been elevated, in the first act of the reign, to the style and title of *Khusru*.

<sup>1</sup> Zia Barni dates the accession of Kutb ud din Mubarak in A.H. 717 (text, p. 331), but the Editors, very properly, correct this on the authority of Mr. Khusrus work, the *جیسا*, into 716. The *Tárikh Mubarak Sháhi* fixes the date, with apparent precision, to the 20th Muharram, 716 A.H. The *Tabakát Akbari*, *Budaoni*, and *Ferishtah*, all follow Zia Barni's error.

<sup>2</sup> Cap. LV. "Revealed at Mecca. They shall repose on couches, the linings whereof shall be of thick silk, etc. . . . Therein [in the garden of heaven] shall

*Khán*, and who imitated and emulated both the successes of Kafúr in the south, and his mastery over the reigning monarch, till, in the end, he personally superintended the murder of his patron, within the private apartments of the palace, and, amid an indiscriminate slaughter of all possible adherents of the old Muhammadan dynasty, ascended the steps of the newly vacated throne

The public incidents of the reign are comparatively unimportant. No Mughals harassed the soil, no famines afflicted the people, but the quiet and prosperity of the land, reflected in the luxury of the capital, excites the regrets of the contemporary historian, who pathetically adverts to the enhanced price of slaves of all degrees and denominations, and the inconvenient average advance of 25 per cent upon the rates of provisions previously established by royal edict

*Kutb ud-din Mubárik Sháh*

No 142 Gold Weight, 169 5 grs Colonel Guthrie's collection  
Square piece *Kutbabád*, A II 718, 719, 720



Square area.

السلطان اس  
السلطان الوثق  
بالله امر المؤمن



Entire surface

الامام اعظم  
حلمه رب العالمين  
قط الدسا والدين

ابو المظفر اركشاد

Margin—

صرے هندو fit wa دقلعہ قطب اماد فی سے نہان عشوو سعماہیہ

Only three specimens in gold are known—Tréhahn Num Kuf p 81, pl xvi, A.H. 720, Sir T Metcalf's collection, A.H. 719, Prinsep's collection, B.M.

This coin presents us with the name of a new place of mintage. We have no direct means of ascertaining the locality indicated by the designation of *Kutbdhdd*. This, however, is the less a subject of regret, as there seems good reason to suppose that the term was only momentarily applied to that portion of the many cities Dehli, which had the honour of constituting the immediate residence of Mubarak Shah.

No 143 (pl. in fig 64) Weight, 170 grs.

*Circular piece* DEHLI, A.H. 716, 717

|                 |                     |
|-----------------|---------------------|
| اسکدرالرمان     | السلطان الاعظم      |
| یمس الحلاة ناصر | قطب الدین والدین    |
| امیر المؤمنین   | ابو المطغر مسارکشاد |
| Margin—         | السلطان بن السلطان  |

صرف عدد الفضة مصقرة دهلي في سنة سعشر و سعماة

No 144 Silver Circular piece *Dár ul Khilafat*, A.H. 717  
Legends similar to those on the square piece of 718, No 145, *infra*

No 145 (pl. in fig 65) Silver Weight, 169 grs

*Square piece* *Dár ul Khilafat*, A.H. 718, 719

Area

|                     |                     |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| السلطان اس          | الامام الاعظم       |
| السلطان الواثق      | حلیفة رب العالم     |
| بالله امیر المؤمنین | قطب الدین والدین    |
| Margin—             | ابو المطغر مسارکشاد |

صرف عدد السکة مصقرة دار الحلاة في سنة ٧١٨ هـ و سعماة

No 146 New variety Silver Weight, 168 grs Col Guthrie  
*Square piece Dar ul Khilafat, A.H. 717*

| Area                |                       |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| مارکشاہ السلطان     | امام الاعظم           |
| اس السلطان الواثق   | قطب الدین والدین      |
| بالله امیر المؤمنین | ابو المطهر حلیمه اللہ |

*Margin—*

صرف عدد الفضة مصقرة دارالخلافة في سة سع عشر و سعماية

Whatever 'Alá-ud-dín's designs in regard to new systems of religion may have amounted to, it remained to his son to disavow entirely the spiritual supremacy of all other Khalífs and successors of Khalífs, and to appropriate that title to himself. This is evidenced in coins, Nos 142, 144, 145, 146, which display a simultaneous change from the comparatively humble epithet of "Right hand of the Khalífat," etc., in conjunction with the marginal record of "Struck at the capital, Dehlí," to be found on the early coinage of the reign (No 143), to the assumption of the style and title of "The most mighty Imám, Commander of the Faithful," as introductory to his own self-assumed sacerdotal designation of Al Wásik Billah, accompanied by a marginal legend, showing that Dehlí in this change had arrived at the honours of a second Baghdad.

This arrogation of hierarchical honours is still more clearly developed on the legends of the coins of the year 718, wherein Mubárak calls himself "Supreme Pontiff," "Khalíjah of the God of heaven and earth." So that while this eccentric young man was parading himself in female costume, to the scandal of all beholders, when the fit was on him, at

other moments he was devoting himself to superintending the dogmas of Islam, and erecting mosques with a pious zeal worthy of a better cause and more consistent teaching<sup>1</sup>

No 147 Silver and copper Weight, 55 grs A.H. 716

New variety Unique Mr E C Bayley's collection

السلطان الاعظم قطب الدین والدين—  
*Obverse*

ابو المطغر مسارك شاه السلطان ٧١٦—  
*Reverse*

No 148 Silver and copper Weight, 55 grs .

A.H. 716, 717 Rare

السلطان الاعظم قطب الدین والدين—  
*Obverse*

مسارك شاه السلطان بن السلطان ٧١٦—  
*Reverse*

No 149 (pl. iii fig. 67) Silver and copper Weight, 55 grs

A.H. 717, 718, 719, 720

الامام الاعظم قطب الدین والدين ٧١٧—  
*Obverse*

ابو المطغر مسارك شاه السلطان بن السلطان—  
*Reverse*

No 150 (pl. iii fig. 68) Silver and copper Weight, 55 grs

A.H. 717, 718

حلیمه رب العالمین قطب الدین ابو المطغر ٧١٧—  
*Obverse*

مسارك شاه السلطان اس السلطان الواشق بالله امر المؤمنین—  
*Reverse*

151 Silver Weight, 55 grs Square A.H. 715, 719, 720

*Obverse* {  
قطب الدین والدين  
Margin, الله حلیمه امر المؤمنین

مسارك شاه السلطان اس السلطان—  
*Reverse*

<sup>1</sup> Ferishtah says he built a mosque at Deogir,<sup>4</sup> which still remains. —Brigge, 1 339 He also appears to have completed the Makbarah of 'Alâ ud-din with 1 + Mosque and Madrassah, in 717 A.H. —Syud Ahmad, p. 27

No 151a A similar coin of mine, dated in A H 719, containing a large proportion of silver, weighs no less than 80.5 grains

No 152 Silver and copper Weight, 56 grs  
Square A H 720

*Obverse*—Same legend as No 149

*Reverse*—حلوة الله مساري شاد السلطان ابن السلطان ٧٢٠

No 153 (pl iii fig 71) Copper Square. Weight, 66 grs

*Obverse*—الامام الاعظم

*Reverse*—قطب الدسا و الدين

No 154 Copper Square Weight, 33 grs

*Obverse*—عدل مساري شاد

*Reverse*—حصرة دار الحلاوة

#### SEVENTEENTH KING (A H 720, A D 1320)

The leading point of interest, in the historical sense, of the present reign, is the sudden and unanticipated re establishment of Hindu supremacy and the temporary degradation of Muslim prestige. Had the fortuitous representative of the ancient faith been a man of higher status and less objectionable antecedents, the subsequent chronicles of the land might have had to be differently told. If any member of the many royal races, who preserved their tribal integrity in defiance of foreign conquest, and who were already silently reassert

ing their place and position against the diluted nationality of the Imperial Court,—if any such had initiated or been commissioned to lead a crusade for the recovery of India for the Indians, the followers of the Prophet might, perchance, have had to recede within the proper limits of Semitic Islám, now inconveniently placed behind the line those odious Mughals had drawn between Hindústán and the western world. As it was, the unclean *Páriah*,<sup>1</sup> the favoured minion of the departed king, while outraging the new creed he pretended to have adopted, and needlessly offending the one class of supporters of the throne, whom the gold of the Dakhan had often won before, was unable to pretend to association with the high caste Hindú Rájas, whose resources and courage might, at this moment, have proved equal to the restitution of the ancient landmarks, could they but have accepted, as of old, a single prominent leader, to be *Mahárája Adhiraya* of the scattered kingdoms and principalities which had latterly lost somewhat of their early facility of agglomeration. The Muhammadan biographer of the day is almost pathetic in his horror of *Kuráns* desecrated and used as seats, and pulpits degraded into pedestals for Hindú idols; or the equally grave offence, in the eyes of the faithful, of Khusru's

<sup>1</sup> بُرْجَارِي, परवारी, "an individual of low caste, chiefly employed as village watchmen," gatekeepers, porters, etc. Of the three terms for this people—परवारी, धेर, महार, "the first is a courteous or conciliating term, the second is a term of reviling, the third a mere appellative without implication" Molesworth's Marathi Dictionary. "The *Purwary* is a *Umdaw* outcast, who eats flesh of all kinds, and is deemed so unclean as not to be admitted to build a house within the town"—Briggs, Ferishtah, 1 p. 337, note.

Captain Grant Duff, in enumerating the divisions of castes and trades of the normal village system in the Dakhan, speaks of the *Mhar* or *Dher* as the very lowest order of Shunkerjáees except the *Mang*, . . . . the *Mangs* are not so intelligent as the *Mhars*, . . . . both the one and the other . . . are exceeding filthy in many respects"—History of the Mahrattas, London, 1826, p. 31

taking to wife the Hindú Princess *Derval Díl*, the widow of the late Sultán, and the coincident distribution of other Muhammadan women to Idolatrous masters. Amid all these overt acts, the Usurper seems to have outwardly professed Islam, he styles himself *Nasir ud din*, "Defender of the Faith," *Wali Amī al Mumínin*, but whether he refers in this term to the late Sultán or to some imaginary "Commander of the Faithful," is not clear, and his titles were repeated in the public prayer with as much formality as if he had been a most orthodox believer.

For the rest, the incidents of his reign are soon told. We have the usual attempt at exterminating all the adherents of the late monarch, profuse distribution of gold, and no effort spared to attach the influential nobles of the old Court. Among the rest, Fíkhr-ud-dín *Juna*, the son of Gházi beg Tughlak, Governor of Daibalpúr, who chanced to have remained in Dehli, seems to have been either bought over or intimidated, until he had an opportunity of escaping and joining his father, who, supported by the Governor of Uchh, defeated the army of Dehli sent against him, and finally advancing upon the capital, secured an easy victory over the forces of Khusru, who fled ignominiously from the field only to be dragged out of his place of concealment and beheaded<sup>1</sup>.

No 155 (pl. in fig 73) Silver Weight, 1.45 grs *Unique A.H. 720*  
(Original coin, in the Stacy collection, Asiatic Society of Bengal)  
Coarsely finished piece, in apparently inferior metal

<sup>1</sup> The *Taríkh Mubárik Sháh* fixes the date of Khusru's accession as 6th of Rabi ul awwal A.H. 721, and assigns him a reign of four months and some days. The exact date of his execution is not given, but Tughlak Sháh is stated to have been enthroned early in Shabán, 721 A.H. Firishtah has the 1st Shabán.

Centre.

خسرو شاد السلطان

الواشق حير الرحمن

ولي أمير المؤمنين

صرف عدد الف . عشرين و سعمائة Margin—

السلطان الأعظم

ناصر الديبا والدين

أبو المطر

No 156 (pl. in fig 74) Silver and copper Weight, 55.7 grs  
Rare

Centre

خسرو شاد

Margin—

السلطان ولی امیر المؤمنین

السلطان !!

نطم ناصر الديبا

والد يس

## EIGHTEENTH KING (A.H. 720-725; A.D. 1320-1325).

Gházi Beg Tughlak, by birth a *Karauniah* Túrk,<sup>1</sup> from a very humble start in life, was glad to take service as a private soldier under Ulugh Khán, the brother of 'Alá-ud-dín

<sup>1</sup> قرودة Ibn Batutah, iii. p. 201 "Turcs connus sous le nom *Karaounah*, et qui habitent dans les montagnes situées entre le Sind et le pays des Turcs" See also Lee, p. 125 Marco Polo's account of this tribe is that their Tartar wives followed Nagodar, the nephew of Zagatai, and settled in these parts, "these being men of a light complexion, mixing with the dark Indian women, produced the race to whom the appellation of *Karaounah* is given, signifying, in the language of the country, a mixed breed, and these are the people who have since been in the practice of committing depredations not only in the country of Reo-

Khiljí; his courage and capacity, however, speedily won him a general's baton, and we find him promoted in the early days of Kutb-ud-dín Mubárik to the important frontier command of Daibalpúr, as Lord of the Marches destined to receive the first shock of the dreaded Mughals. From this position, his victorious advance upon Dehli, and final defeat of Khusru, left him almost without a competitor for the vacant throne, which, with some possibly feigned reserve, he was finally induced to accept. His rule was inaugurated by wise regulations, tending to the relief and well-being of the cultivators of the soil, whose importance in the body politic was now beginning to dawn upon the Muslim mind; indeed, the Hindú subjects were gradually reasserting their proper position in the social scale, in defiance of the prejudices of their now partially naturalized foreign rulers. This, however, did not in any way interfere with the habitual raids to the south, which seem to have been looked upon as a necessary departmental section of the administration of the empire. The heir apparent, Fakhr-ud-dín Júná, now designated as *Ulugh Khán*, was entrusted with this command, the Military Viceroyalty of the Dakhan, and started for Warangol on his first expedition in A.H. 721. Almost his earliest thoughts in this independent position savoured of

barbe (Rudbár) but in every other country to which they have access" Marsden (1818), pp 87, 90, Bohn's edition, p 60; D'Ohsson, iv. 46, Onseley, Oriental Geography, p 140, Sherif-ud-din's Timur Beg, c. xlv., Pottinger, pp 58, 139, Ferrier, Caravan Journeys, 1857, pp 413, 431.

Shams-i Siráf 'Afif mentions in his Tárikh Firáz Sháh that he has given a full account of the parentage of Tughlak Sháh in his Manákib-i-Sultán Tughlak. No copies of this work have been discovered — Elliot's Historians, iii. p. 271

The Khulásat al Tawárikh speaks of a tradition that his mother was a Jatni of the Punjab پدر سلطان ترک شہزاد باسم تعلق از غلامان سلطان غاث الدین ملس و مادر او ار قوم حت پنجاب بود

treason to his sire<sup>1</sup> Warangol was invested, and on the point of surrendering, when certain parties to the immature conspiracy lost heart and separated themselves from the Muhammadan camp, which left Ulugh Khan no resource but a hasty and calamitous retreat to Deogir, from whence he succeeded in effectually blinding his father as to his real designs by supplying him with a sufficient number of minor victims for his vengeance. The second invasion of the south was more successful, Bidr and Warangol were captured, and Laddar Déo, with his elephants and treasures, wives and children, was sent to the Sultan at Dehli, and the Hindu name of Warangol was obliterated for a short period in the new designation of Sultanpur.

In 724 A.H. the Sultan proceeded in person to Bengal, where he received the submission of Shaháb ud dín *Bughrah Shah*,<sup>2</sup> and carried the turbulent *Bahadur Shah*, King of

<sup>1</sup> This is Ibn Batutah's account (iii. 208) Zia Barni veils the damaging fact under general details.

<sup>2</sup> I have already adverted to Zia Barni's mistakes in regard to the individual monarch then reigning in Bengal the original error may very well have arisen from the similarity of the names of the grandfather and grandson. I append without further comment the passage in question as translated by Professor Dowson. When the Sultan reached Tirhut the ruler of Lakhnauti Sultan Vás r ud-dín, came forth with great respect to pay homage to the Sultan and without the sword being called into requisition all the *Rois* and *Ranas* of the country made their submission. Tátár Khán foster son (*pisar* : *Khudnáda*) of the Sultan, held the territory of Zafarábád and a force having been ass gned to him he brought the whole country under the imperial rule Bahádur Sháh the ruler of Sunár-gánw made some resistance but a cord was thrown upon his neck and he was conducted to the Sultan All the elephants of the country were sent to the royal stables and the army acquired great spoil in the campaign Sultan Vás r ud-dín had shown great respect and submiss on, so the Sultan gave him a canopy and a baton sent him back, and placed Lakhnauti under his rule Bahadur Sháh the ruler of Sunár gánw was sent to Dehli with a rope round his neck, and the Sultan returned towards his capital triumphant. — Elliot's Historians, i, 131.

Eastern Bengal, captive to Dehli. On setting out upon this expedition to Bengal, the Sultán had infatuatedly installed Ulugh Khán as Viceroy at Dehli. The latter waited for his long sought opportunity, till his father's return in triumph to the capital, when he advanced to meet him in equal state and ceremony the conventional *one* stage on the way. Having erected a pavilion for his reception, cunningly devised to fall and crush its occupants, the Sultán and his favourite son fell easy victims to the trap, whose mechanism too effectually fulfilled its mission.<sup>1</sup>

No. 157. Pale gold. Weight, 172.4 grs B.M. A coarse coin.

السلطان الغازى خياث الدنيا ، الدين ابو الفخر—  
Obverse—

The Sultán, the Ghází, Ghiás ud dunya wa ud dín  
Abú-l Muzaffar

سكندر الثاني يمين الخلافة ناصر امير المؤمنين  
Reverse—Area,

The Second Alexander, right-hand of the Khiláfat,  
supporter of the Commander of the Faithful.

Margin— . . . . . صرب هذہ

This is, perhaps, the most curious hybrid piece in the entire series, exemplifying, as it does, the extreme haste resorted to in the preparation and issue of coin on the accession of a new king. In this instance there was less need of such secondary demonstration, as the elevation of Tughlak Sháh was virtually unopposed; and yet we see the State officials so precipitating the Numismatic proclamation of their chosen Sovereign as to put forth money with his name on the obverse, coupled with the incongruous titles of a former Sultán, one of whose obsolete reverse stamps has been made to do duty, on the urgency of the moment, while an appropriate die was in course of completion, which should set forth consistently the

<sup>1</sup> Zia Barni suppresses the fact of the intention, but Ibá Batutah is frank and outspoken on the subject.

titular designations approved of by the reigning monarch, which clearly followed, in their pious tenour, a very different order of ideas to the vain glorious boasts of resuscitated Alexanders or other arrogant assumptions of Pontifical precedence

No 158 Gold Weight 170 2 grains Very rare  
A.H. 721

*Obverse*—السلطان السعيد الشهيد العارى عاث الدسا و الدس—

The Sultan, the fortunate, the testifier, the Ghazi,  
Ghiás ud dunya wa ud dun

*Reverse*—Area, 721 ابو المظفر بعلقشاد اثار الله برهاه

Abu 1 Muzaffar Tughlak Sháh May God illumine  
his testimony 721

*Margin*—عشرین و سعماهه—صرف هده السکه

No 159 GOLD Weight, 168 8 grs Dehli, A.H. 721, 724, 725

|               |                  |
|---------------|------------------|
| Circular area | Square area      |
| تعلق شاد      | السلطان العارى   |
| السلطان ناصر  | عاث الدسا و الدس |
| امير المؤمن   | ابو المظفر       |

*Margin*—

صرف هده السکه تمحرة دهلي في سه احدى وعشرين و سعماهه

No 160 Silver Weight, 170 2 grs Rare Deogir, A.H. 721  
Area

|              |                    |
|--------------|--------------------|
| تعلق شاد     | السلطان العارى     |
| السلطان ناصر | عاث الدسا و اهادين |
| امير المؤمن  | ابو المظفر         |

*Margin*—

صرف هده السکه تعلقة ديوگر في سه احدى شرين و سعماهه

No 161 (pl. iii fig 78) Silver Weight, 170 grs (Several specimens range as high as 169 8 grs) Rare Similar coin to No 160, but struck at Dehli in A.H. 722, 723, 724

Margin—

صریب هده السکه حکمران دہلی فی سہ اربع وعشرين و سعماہیه

No 162 Silver Weight, 162 grs Colonel Guthrie

*A Bengal coin*

Following the ordinary details of the Imperial mintages, but marked both in shape, weight and fashion of the letters in its identity with the provincial coinage. The marginal records are obliterated, but there can be little hesitation in associating these pieces with Tughlak Shah's expedition to Bengal

No 163 (pl. iii. fig 79) Silver and copper Weight, 54 grs  
A.H. 720, 721

السلطان العاری عیات الدسا و الدین ۷۲۰

Reverse—Area, تعلق شاد

Margin—શાહ સુલ્તાન ગ્યાસુદી *Srh Sultan Gyásudín*

No 164 (pl. iii fig 80) Silver and copper Weight, 55 grs  
Dates observed, A.H. 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725<sup>1</sup>

السلطان العاری عیات الدسا و الدین

Reverse—ابو المطمر تعلق شاد السلطان

No 165 (pl. iii fig 81) Copper Weight, 53 grs Rare

Obverse—تعلق

Reverse—شاد

<sup>1</sup> In two well ascertained instances the *word* runs on to 726 Mr. Freeling long ago observed the *one* example, and Major Stubbs's latest selections furnish a *second* and indubitable instance of the insertion of a final ۱=6. I do not, however, attach any importance to these crude definitions of the ۱, which may well have been a mere ignorant rendering of a legitimate r=2.

P Ibn Batutah has preserved a record of an inscription of this monarch on the Jam'i Musjid, at Multán which he states he had himself seen, to the following effect —

انى عايلتُ السر تسعًا وعشرين مره فرستمْ سعيد سعيد الملك  
العاري

I have encountered the Tatars on twenty nine occasions and defeated them, hence I am called Malik al Ghazi (m 202)

Ziá Barní has a passage much to the same effect, p 416, text

We have no extant inscriptions of this Sultán, but he has left a very imperishable memorial of his reign in the stupendous Fort of Tughlakabád the construction of which is stated by the author of the Tarikh Mubárik Shahi to have occupied a period of more than three years. The site of the town is prominent on the accompanying plan of Déhli situated four miles due east of the Kutb Minar and ten miles south of the modern city. The fortress is built of enormous blocks of sandstone cut from the surrounding hills, and within the citadel, which is connected with the fort by a viaduct of twenty seven arches, is placed the equally solid mausoleum of the king. The whole undertaking, however, proved eminently futile as his son removed his Court to the old city within forty days after his accession<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Syud Ahmad's *Asár us Sunadeed* p 29 Ferguson's *History of Architecture* n. p 653

## BENGAL COINS.

I have to bring up the arrears of no less than three Bengal kings, who flourished in undisturbed obscurity as far as imperialism at Dehli was concerned, and to resume the thread of the local history, severed for the time being, with the reign of 'Alá-ud-dín (p. 154).

## II. SHAMS-UD-DÍN FIRUZ.

We gather from Ibn Batutah's chronicle, already quoted at page 146, that Shams-ud-dín Firúz, the son of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd *Bughrá Khán*, was reigning in Western Bengal at the period of Muhammad bin Tughlak's abortive revolt against his own father in 721-2 A.H. To his Court fled many of those faint-hearted nobles who hesitated to carry out their treason in the face of real or imaginary difficulties. Beyond this we learn but little of his power, or the prominent events of his reign; indeed, his coins alone establish the fact of his possession of Lakhnauti during the period embraced between the years 702-722, and (at some moment) of his ownership of the Eastern Province of Bengal represented by the mint of Sonárgáon. A subordinate incident is developed in the legends of the coins, that he felt himself sufficiently firm in his own power to discard the supererogatory adjuncts of descent or relationship, and relied upon the simple affirmation of his own position as *the Sultán* *السلطان*.

*Shams-ud-din Firuz Shah.*

No 166 (pl. vi fig 3) Silver. Weight, 168.4 grs  
Lakhnauti, A.H. 702,<sup>1</sup> 715, (Col. Bush) 720, 722.

## REVERSE.

الامام

المستعصم

امير المؤمنين

## OBVERSE

السلطان الاعظم

شمس الدبيا و الدين

ابو المطفر فروز شاه

السلطان

Margin—*Margin—* صرف هذه الفضة بحضورت لكتبه سة عشرين و [سعماية]

No 167 Silver. Weight, 168 grs. Unique  
Sonárgáon, A.H.? Type as above.

## III SHAHAB-UD DIN BUGHRAH SHAH

Neither history, incidental biography, nor numismatic remains avail to do more than prove the elevation, as they seem to indicate the brief and uneventful rule, of Shaháb-ud-dín, the son of Shams-ud-dín Firuz, and grandson of the once recognized heir apparent of Balban.

The singularly limited number of the coins of this prince, confined—if the original Calcutta selections be not at fault<sup>2</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> See also Pathán Sultáns of Hindústán, old edition, p. 37, coin dated 702 A.H. This coin was first published in 1848. I then read the date as 702 A.H. I was not at the time unversed in the decipherment of Arabic numbers, and probably from the very difficulty of placing the piece itself, I may the more rely upon the accuracy of my original interpretation. I mention this fact, as I am at present unable to refer to the coin itself.

<sup>2</sup> The name of this king does not appear in any of the lists contributed by Babu Rajendra Lal, who was commissioned to make a selection of the more remarkable coins from the grand total above named.

to three examples amid the 13,500 accumulated specimens of the currencies of other kings of the land over which he temporarily held sway, sufficiently mark his status in the general list of the potentates of the century in which he lived. No date or place of mintage is preserved on his extant money, and the single additional item supplied by their aid is his personal or proper name, which appears on their surfaces as شاہ بودین ; a crude outline which might suggest a doubt as to the conclusiveness of the transcription of شرخان, now confidently adopted as expressing an optional rendering of the grandfather's title of شرخان,<sup>1</sup> a name which was even further distorted from the Túrki original by the conversion of the medial *r* into the vernacular *cerebral* *়* or *়=d*. For the rest, the pieces themselves, under the mechanical test, in their make, the forms of their letters, and the tenour of their legends, evidently follow closely upon Shams-ud-din's mintages, and as clearly precede the money of the same locality, issued by Ghíás-ud-dín *Bahadur* Sháh, who, in 724 A.H., drove this, his own brother, Shaháb-ud-dín, to take refuge with the Sultán, Ghíás-ud-dín Tughlak Sháh.<sup>2</sup> Bahádur's career has yet to be told in connexion with his own coins; but to dispose of Shaháb-ud-dín,<sup>2</sup> as far as the exercise of his

<sup>1</sup> The ancient name of شرخان of Bokhára notoriety in 350 A.H. (Freih. Recensio Numorum Muhammadanorum, pp 139, 593, 578), was subjected to strange mutations on Indian soil. My authority for the substitution of the final *়* in place of the vowel *়* is derived from Ibn Batutah, who uniformly writes the word with an *়* (in 231-5, 293). Ferishtah (vers, p 131) has *় শ*, whence Stewart's *Bogora* (p 74). Dow gave the name as *Kera*, and Briggs as *Kurra* (i. pp 265, 270, etc).

<sup>2</sup> Those who delight in interesting coincidences might see, in this name of Shaháb-ud-dín, a most tempting opportunity for associating him with a really important record by the Indigènes themselves, inscribed on a stone slab in the

mint prerogatives are concerned, he seems to have abdicated any such rights from the date when he claimed the aid of his

fort of Chunár, setting forth their victory over a "Malik" Shaháb ud-din, quoted as acting under Muhammad bin Tughlak, in Samvat 1390 (A.H. 734), but I confess I do not myself encourage the identification. Chunár is certainly not out of the range of access from Bengal, but other men of mark may have filled this command, and the name of the fortress itself is never heard of in reference to the affairs of the kingdom of Lakhnauti, in those early days, though the main road of communication between the two capitals of the north and the south took its course through Badón or Kanauj and Jaunpore. The inscription is otherwise well worthy of further examination, in as far as it concerns the history of imperial influence upon proximate localities, and as such I transcribe both the text and Dr. Mills's translation of the brief passages which chance to illustrate the general subject.

Verse 5

सहावदीनादिदुष्टामयवनेन्द्रमहमदा ।  
सेराजो मि[लितोऽम]त्यो विरिणापि हापानिधिः ॥

"By MUHAMMAD, lord of the hostile Yavanas SHAHAB-UD-DIV and the rest, though an enemy, was SAIRAJA, the treasure of benignity, employed as prime minister."

Verse 11

सवत् १३७० भाद्रपदि ५ गुरुरी सेराजदेवगंगर  
णागतमलिकसहावदीनरचितं ॥

"Samvat 1370, in the month of Bhadra, fifth day of the waning moon, on Thursday, was the kingdom set free from MALIK SHAHAB UD DIV, acting under the protecting favour of SAIRAJA DEVA aforesaid."

—(See Journal As Soc. Bengal, vol. v, 1836, p. 341.)

There were several *Shahab ud-dins*, men of prominence in these days. Among the rest ملک شاب الدین سلطانی تاج الملک at the Court of Tughlak Sháh (Zia Barni, text, p. 424) Subsequently described as سرخان ملک شاب الدین سلطانی (p. 454) in the official lists of Muhammad bin Tughlak's nobles and mentioned by Ferishtah as having been invested with the *Jagir* of Nasari (text, 1, p. 238, Briggs, 1, p. 412). Nasari, if it is correctly placed in  $73^{\circ} 1 - 21^{\circ} 0'$ , would scarcely, however, associate his scene of action with Chunár ( $83^{\circ} - 25^{\circ} 5'$ ). Later in point of time, there was a Shahab ud-din, *Multani*, who was entitled *Nasrat Khan*, and entrusted with the charge of Bidr in A.H. 742 (Ferishtah, 1, 424), and who very shortly rebelled against his lord (Elliot's Historians, iii, 247).

Suzerain, and though Zia Barni<sup>1</sup> affirms that he was eventually reinstated in his dominion, it is not clear under what terms and conditions he was permitted to hold his delegated rank

*Shahab ud din Bughrah Shah*

No 168 (pl vi fig 4) Silver Weight, 168.5 grs

Mint (illegible) Two coins only, Col Guthrie

Type as usual

| OBVERSE             | REVERSE       |
|---------------------|---------------|
| السلطان الاعظم      | الامام        |
| شمس الدسا والدين    | المستعصم      |
| أبو المطمر بعده شاه | امير المؤمنين |
| السلطان بن سلطان    |               |

*Margin, (remainder illegible) صرب هدالل*

IV BAHADUR SHAH

The single point in the biography of Bahádúr Sháh which remains at all obscure is the date of his first attaining power Ibn Batutah records, with sufficient distinctness, that he con-

1 و سلطان ناصر [شاد] الدین صاط لکسوتی را چرو دور باش  
داد و لکسوتی ندو حوالت فرمود و نار فرساد و ستکانو و سارکانو  
صاط شد Calcutta text, p 451

و بعلی شاد ناصر [شاد] الدین را چتر داد و بطریق رمان سان  
لکسوتی را باقطاعش مقرر داشت و سر محاکمیت سارکانو و کور  
سکاله باور رجوع کرد Firishtah, Bombay text, p 234

Briggs's version differs materially from the original text (i. 406)

quered and set aside his regnant brother *Shabáb-ud-dín*, at some time prior to Ghíás-ud-dín Tughlak's reassertion of the ancient suzerainty of Dehli over the lightly-held allegiance of Bengal, and his eventual carrying away captive the offending Bahádur, who was, however, soon to be released and restored with added honours,<sup>1</sup> by Muhammad bin Tughlak, shortly after his own accession. Indian home-authors, who so rarely refer to the affairs of the Gangetic delta, give vague intimations of the first appointment of Rahádur to Eastern Bengal by 'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad in A.H. 709,<sup>2</sup> assigning to him an inconceivable interval of placid repose until A.H. 717, when he is stated to have broken out into the turbulent self-assertion for which he was afterwards so celebrated. But, as we have seen how manifestly wrong the Court chroniclers were in the matter of Násir-ud-dín's prolonged reign, we may freely accept Ibn Batutah's statement as the most readily reconcilable with probabilities, and the demands of the, up to this time legible, dates on the coins which Bahádur put into circulation in Bengal. I might have some doubt as to the conclusiveness of the reading of the date 710 on his money in the Kooch Bahár *tromaille*, but I have none as to the clear expression of A.H. 711 and 712, though the singular break occurring between 712 (or 714) and 720 suggests a suspicion of an originally imperfect die-rendering of the عشرين = 20 for عشرين = 10, which would bring

1. چون سلطان پادر سارکامی را نملک اوده رخصت کرد اچھے  
رر نقد در خزانہ بود سکبار در انعام اوداد Tabakat-i-Akbari  
See also Zia Barni, printed edition, p. 461

2. Stewart, p. 75, Fenshtah (Briggs), l. 406

\* Among more critical Arabic scholars than the Bengal mint masters ever affected to be, this point would have been easily determined by the insertion or

the corrected range of Bahádur's dates to 720-724; but even these figures leave something to be reconciled in reference to their associate places of mintage, for in 720-722, his father, Shams-ud-dín Firúz, was clearly in possession of the already commemorated "*Lakhnauti*"; but such an anomaly might be explained by the supposition that Bahádur, in the earlier days, used the name of *Lakhnauti* as a geographical expression for a portion of the dominions ordinarily administered from that capital. Undoubtedly the first appearance of the contrasted designation of the eastern capital, "*Sonárgáón*," occurs on the coinage of his father; but even this sign of discrimination of urban issues would not be altogether opposed to a continuance by Bahádur of the loose usage of Camp Mints, of naming the metropolis as the general term for the division at large, or inconsistent with the subsidiary legitimate employment of the designation of the province on a coinage effected anywhere within its own boundaries,—either of which simple causes may have prevailed, and been utilized with a new motive, if any covert ulterior meaning chanced to be designed, as implying that Bahádur himself had special successional or other claims to the metropolitan districts.

Tughlak Sháh's intervention in the affairs of Bengal seems to have originated in an appeal on the part of the ejected Shaháb-ud-dín against the usurpation of his brother Bahádur. The result of the Imperial expedition to the south was the defeat, capture, and transport to Déhli of Bahádur Sháh; but among the first acts of the new Sultán, Muhammad bin Tughlak, was the release and re-installation of the offender, showing clearly that he was something more than an ordi-

emission of the conjunction *و* *و*, which, as a rule, is required to couple the *units* and the *tenths*, but is not used with the *units* and *tens*

nary local governor, transferable at will, and that possibly the interests of the Imperial father and son, in their newly established dynastic rank, and the confessed insubordination of the latter, were independently advocated by the opposing members of the royal line of Bengal, whose family tree could show so much more ancient a series of regal successions than their parvenu Suzerains, whose elevation dated scarce five years back. One of the most interesting illustrations of the present series is contributed by coin No. 186, in the legends of which Bahádur acknowledges the supremacy of Muhammad bin Tughlak over Eastern Bengal during A.H. 728.<sup>1</sup> The subjection seems, however, to have been of brief duration, as, sometime in or after the year A.H. 730, Bahádur appears to have reverted to an independent coinage, in a new capital called after his own title *Ghásipur* (coin No. 170), and in A.H. 733 Muhammad bin Tughlak is found issuing his own coin in Bengal, and Bahádur, defeated and put to death, contributed an example to insurgent governors in his own skin, which was stuffed and paraded through the provinces of the empire

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Batutah gives the following additional particulars of Bahádur's re-installation — "Il [Muhammad bin Tughlak] lui fit de nombreux cadeaux en argent, chevaux, éléphants, et le renvoya dans son royaume. Il expédia avec lui le fils de son frère, Ibrâhîm Khân, il convint avec Behâdour Bourâk qu'ils posséderaient ledit royaume par égales moitiés, que leurs noms figureraient ensemble sur les monnaies, que la prière serait faite en leur nom commun, et que Ghîyâth eddin enverrait son fils Mohammed dit Berbath (بَرْبَاث), comme otage près du souverain de l'Inde. Ghîyâth eddin partit, et observa toutes les promesses qu'il avait faites, seulement il n'envoya pas son fils, comme il avait été stipulé. Il prétendit que ce dernier s'y était refusé, et, dans son discours, il blessa les convenances. Le souverain de l'Inde fit marcher au secours du fils de son frère, Ibrâhîm Khân, des troupes dont le commandant était Doldjî attatary (دُلْجِي الْتَّرَى). Elles combattirent Ghîyâth eddin et le tuèrent, elles le dépouillèrent de sa peau, qu'on rembourra de paille, et qu'on promena ensuite dans les provinces" — Vol. III, p. 316.

*Bahádur Sháh.*

No. 169. Silver. Size, vii. to viii. Weight, ordinarily, 166 grs.; one example is as high as 167.5 grs. Rare. Lakhnauti, A.H. 710,<sup>2</sup> 711, 712, 7-3, 7-4<sup>1</sup> (*break*), 720, 721, 722.

| OBVERSE.            | REVERSE.      |
|---------------------|---------------|
| السلطان الاعظم      | الامام        |
| عياث الدنيا والدبن  | المستعصم      |
| ابو المظفر بادر شاه | امير المؤمنين |
| السلطان بن سلطان    |               |

خرب هذه الفضة بحضورت لكتبهنوتی سنة احد عشر وسبعمائة—*Margin*—

No. 170 (pl. vi. fig. 5). Silver. Weight, 166 and 164.5 grs. Very rare. Two coins. Col. Guthrie. Second mint, Ghíáspúr, Date, 730.

\* هذه السکة قصبه غیاثپور سنة ثلثین + *Margin*—\*

I have reserved for its more appropriate place among Muhammad bin Tughlak's own series of silver pieces the remarkable medal struck by Bahádur Sháh in honour of his suzerain in A.H. 728 (No. 186, p. 215).

<sup>1</sup> The dates 7-3, 7-4, may, perchance, be obliterated records of 723, 724. I have placed them among the lower figures, but I have no sanction for retaining them in that position.

## NINETEENTH KING (A.H. 725-752; A.D. 1324-1351)

The destinies of India were surrendered for twenty-seven years to the eccentric domination of Muhammad bin Tughlak, a man of mark apart from his kingship—generous to profusion, an accomplished scholar, abstinent, a stern defender of his faith, and the most experienced general of his day. Against these many merits had to be set a determination which hesitated at no means in the compassing of his own ends—a ferocity possibly inherited from the desert tribes, which could conceive no punishment effectual but death, combined with a perversion of intellect which induced him to allow despotism to run into insane fury at any sign of opposition to his will. His mind was cast to know no mercy or compassion as a judge, and he was led to carry out his best intentioned measures with an utter disregard of human suffering, as instanced in the transportation, in some cases with brutal violence, of the inoffensive citizens of Dehli, *en masse*, for the mere purpose of filling his newly created city of Deogir;<sup>1</sup> or the extermination of whole tribes as if they had

<sup>1</sup> The following account of Ibn Batutah, who was in part an eye witness of the transactions referred to, will give some idea of the horrors perpetrated in carrying out this edict—"The Sultán ordered all the inhabitants to quit the place, and upon some delay being evinced, he made a proclamation, stating that what person soever, being an inhabitant of that city, should be found in any of its houses or streets, should receive condign punishment. Upon this they all went out, but his servants finding a blind man in one of the houses and a bedridden one in another, the Emperor commanded the bedridden man to be projected from a balista, and the blind one to be dragged by his feet to Daulatábád, which is at the distance of ten days, and he was so dragged, but his limbs dropping off by the way, only one of his legs was brought to the place intended, and was then thrown into it, for the order had been that they should go to this place. When I entered Dehli it was almost a desert." "Its buildings were very few, in other

been vermin, whose single hope of salvation, in this world, was the profession of Islám

In the early portion of his reign he held in full subjection an empire far more magnificent than had been given to any of his predecessors circumstances, however, were adverse to the permanence of his power The dominion covering twenty-three provinces,<sup>1</sup> or independent nationalities, became, in the respects it was quite empty —Dr Lees's edition Oriental Trans Fund, p 144 French edition, in p 310

<sup>1</sup> Siradj eddin Abu Matal Omar natif de la province de Oud عوص، qui avait vécu a la cour du Sultan de Dehli: nous apprend que les états de ce monarque se composaient de vingt trois provinces principales, savoir

|    |                      |           |    |          |             |
|----|----------------------|-----------|----|----------|-------------|
| 1  | Dehli                | اعلم دھلی | 13 | Badaon   | السم بدارون |
| 2  | Deogir               | دیوگر     | 14 | Dude     | عوص         |
| 3  | Multan               | المطلب    | 15 | Kanauj   | العنوج      |
| 4  | Kohram               | کرام      | 16 | Laknauti | لکسوتی      |
| 5  | Samanah              | سامانہ    | 17 | Bihár    | بیار        |
| 6  | Siwistán<br>(Sehwan) | سوسان     | 18 | Karrah   | کرد         |
| 7  | Uchh                 | اوچہ      | 19 | Malwa    | مالوہ       |
| 8  | Hansi                | ھاسی      | 20 | Láhor    | لار         |
| 9  | Sirsati              | سرستی     | 21 | Kalanur  | کلابور      |
| 10 | Malabár              | المعر     | 22 | Jajnagar | حاسکر       |
| 11 | Telinga              | تلنگ      | 23 | Telinga  | تلنج        |
| 12 | Gujerat              | کھرات     | 24 | Dwara    | دھورسمیدر   |
|    |                      |           |    | Samanda  | سماندا      |

—Not et Ext. xiii p 170 Zia Barni's list is less complete

|   |       |           |
|---|-------|-----------|
| 1 | دھلی  | دھورسمیدر |
| 2 | کھرات | معر       |
| 3 | مالوہ | برہ       |
| 4 | دیوگر | لکسوتی    |
| 5 | تلنگ  | ستکانو    |
| 6 | کبله  | سارکانو   |

—Zia Barni, pp 467, 473 Calcutta text

The author of the *Masálik al Absár* in another part of his work, while

very number of its sections, essentially incoherent. Local feudatories had of late been superseded by governors appointed by the head of the State, and the selection of fitting and trustworthy representatives was attended by far greater risks than of old, now that the national bond, so effective among the ruling classes under the dynasty of the Túrks, had disappeared amid the dissensions of Túrk and Khiljí,

speaking of his means of obtaining information upon Indian matters, remarks — “Des voyageurs de notre pays (Egypte) se rendent continulement dans l’Inde aussi somme nous parfaitement instruits de ce qui se passe dans cette contrée (p 202). It must be remembered, also, that these data must have been committed to writing within a very brief interval after the return of the several contributors, as the compiler of the *Masálik ul Absár* died about the same time as Muhammad bin Tughlak himself (that is to say, in A.H. 749, or, at latest, 752). His informants seem to have been very favourably impressed with the high standard of civilization existing in Dehli, one of whom deposes, ‘les habitants de Dehli se distinguent par leur esprit et leur intelligence la sagesse de leurs réflexions, la netteté de leurs idées. Ils s’expriment avec élégance en langue persane et en langue indienne (p 217). But the most distinct test of their cultivation is afforded by the accomplishments of the women of whom the Africans speak with great admiration. The author continues—

• Je demandai à chacun de ces voyageurs, en particulier, comment une esclave femelle pouvait atteindre cette valeur (20 000 *ta’lak* ou même davantage), dans un pays où tout était à si bon marché, chacun me répondit que cette différence tenait à ce que ces jeunes filles se distinguaient par la beauté de leurs formes et la grâce de leurs manières que pour la plupart, elles possèdent l’Alcoran, savent écrire, recitent des vers, des histoires excellent dans la musique vocale, savent pincer du luth, jouer aux échecs et aux dés. Ces jeunes esclaves sont toutes fières de réunir ces qualités brillantes. Les femmes de l’Inde, sous le rapport de la beauté l’emportent sur celles de Turquie et du Kapchak, en outre, elles se distinguent par une grande instruction et une extrême variété de talents (p 200).

In a later stage of progress India’s greatest king Akbar, equally confessed the supremacy of female rule in persons alien to his own faith, who not only declined to study the Kurán, but coerced the mighty monarch into the acceptance of portions of their own creed, as one of his own biographers remarks “The Emperor was subject to the influence of the numerous Hindu princesses of the Harem who had gained so great an ascendancy over him as to make him forswear beef, garlic, onions and the wearing of a beard, which things His Majesty still avoids — Badáoni, quoted by Blochmann *Ain-i-Akbari*, p 193

both of whom had henceforth to bow to an alien Sultán of curiously mixed breed. In the Muhammadan distrust of unconverted Hindús, all manner of foreign adventurers were installed in divisional posts;<sup>1</sup> these men having little or no interest in the stability of the throne, were ever ready to aid any projected rising, or to join with their combined forces any of the more influential rebels. So that the annals of the period present a mere succession of outbreaks,—no sooner was one section of the empire brought back to its allegiance than another division would seek to assert its independence.

The Sultán was often obliged to command his own armies; and though he was usually victorious, the very fact of his absence in distant parts encouraged the disaffected elsewhere. The old proverb, "Dehli is distant,"<sup>2</sup> found a new application; the royal forces were often less near to the threatened point than the inconveniently situated capital itself, whose distance from the Southern States had already suggested its supercession by the more central Deogír. A parallel obstacle to the permanent subjection of the provinces was to be found in the state of the roads and the general insecurity of the country at large, evils that extended to such an extreme that the tribute of the south was allowed to accumulate at Deogír, merely because it was found impossible to transport it to Dehli, and eventually the whole trea-

<sup>1</sup> The majority of these mercenaries seem to have been Khorásáns, whom Muhammad bin Tughlak had collected to aid in his contemplated conquest of their own country. Ibn Batutah remarks incidentally that the people of Dehli called all Asiatic or African strangers indiscriminately "Khorásáns" (iii. 229). Mughals were also engaged in large numbers, so that, on the Sultan's death, this section of his army, compact in its nationality, at once proceeded to harass and plunder the now ill-commanded force to which they were attached—Elliot's *Historians*, edition 1849, p. 324; new edition, vol. iii. pp. 251, 266.

<sup>2</sup> دہلی دوڑا است "It is a far cry to Lochow"—Rob Roy.

sue was divided on the spot among some temporarily successful insurgents.<sup>1</sup>

The end of such a state of things might easily be predicted. The Bengal Mints occupied themselves in coining money for independent rulers, the Sultán's early triumph, Warangol, reverted to its ancient name in the hands of other masters, Deogir, his chosen capital, submitted to Hasan Gungo, the founder of a new race of kings, the Bahmani dynasty of Kalbarga, who were destined to play a prominent part in the destinies of the country, and, finally, the owner of so many kingdoms died, miserably, of a fever, near Thatta, on the lower Indus, with his army "like ants or locusts" around him, and his cousin and successor found some difficulty in getting safe home to the cherished Dehlí, Muhammad bin Tughlak had once done so much to desolate and destroy.

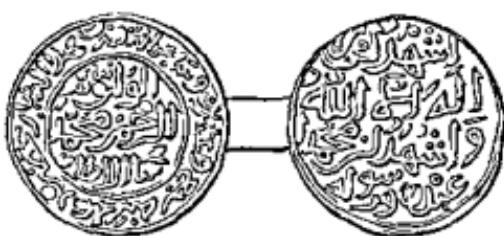
It is, however, in his rôle as a Prince of Monarchs that Muhammad bin Tughlak claims our peculiar attention. His mintages are instructive both in the novelty and variety of their types, admirable in the artistic perfection of their design and execution, and especially significant in their reflex of the individuality of the Monarch himself, marking, as they do, the various phases of his career—his early wealth and reckless profusion, its resulting poverty, which he attempted to meet by a forced currency, and equally his ready return to money payments on its ascertained failure. Next in order, they exemplify the doubts and difficulties concerning his own title to the throne, unconfirmed as it was by Pontifical authority, which he remedied by the curious pro-

<sup>1</sup> On another occasion (745 A. H.) the tribute of Gujarat with the horses for the royal stables and a large convoy of merchandize was plundered by the foreign insurrection.

cess of the omission of his own name and the substitution of that of an Egyptian scion of the house of Abbás, who, as chance would have it, was already in his grave. So important, indeed, did he consider all matters connected with the public currency that one of the earliest acts of his reign was to remodel the coinage, to readjust its divisions to the altered relative values of the precious metals, and to originate new and more exact representatives of the subordinate circulation. These innovations will be noticed in detail in connexion with the representative monetary specimens in as much of consecutive order as the materials admit.

*Muhammad bin Tughlak.*

No. 171. *Gold.* Weight, 198.5 grs; highest weight of other available specimens, 199 grs. (See also Marsden, DCCXIV) DELHI, AH. 725, 726, 727.



Circular area.

الواشق بتأييد

الرحمن محمد

شاد السلطان

Margin—

فرب هذا الدينار بحصرة دهلي

سنة سبع وعشرين وسبعمائة

أشهد أن لا

الله إلله

أشهد أن محمدًا

عبدة ورسوله

"I testify that there is no god but God, and I testify that Muhammad is his servant and apostle."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is the *azan* or call to prayer, usually chanted from the turret of

No 172 Gold Weight, 167 3 grs Unique in gold Colonel  
Guthrie Dár ul ISLÁM, A.H. 727



Circular area

الله اكبر

الله محمد

رسول الله

Margin—

صرف هذه السکه بدار الاسلام

في سة سع وعشرين وسبعين



ابوكر

الحادي في

سیل الله

محمد بن تعلق شاد

ع

The warrior in the cause of God,<sup>1</sup>  
Muhammad bin Tughlak Shah  
Abubakr, 'Umar, 'Usmán, 'Alí

أشهد أن الله اكبر الله اكبر الله اكبر الله اكبر  
the mosque أشد أن الله اكبر الله اكبر الله اكبر الله اكبر  
أشهد أن الله اكبر الله اكبر الله اكبر الله اكبر  
—Lane Arabic Dict., s.v. *roce*

Marsden usually so cautious in his criticisms, and who had gone through a very severe training in Kufic palaeography in the various introductory series he was called upon to decipher proved altogether at fault when he came to encounter the free flow of superior Kurán MS calligraphy which Muhammad bin Tughlak had suddenly brought to such perfection in these mint dies —Num Orient p 534

<sup>1</sup> See Zīā Barni Persian text, p 196 Elliot's Historians iii p 143, Ibn Batutah iii 215

Firuz Shah Khilji had coveted this particular title and condescended to engage in a secondary intrigue in order to obtain it as a presumably voluntary offering on the part of the local heads of the creed, but on their too ready compliance with his wishes he discovered scruples as to the sufficiency of his own claims to any such distinction

No 173. Gold Weight, 198 5 (198, 197 3, 197 3) A most perfect coin Colonel Guthrie DELHI, A H 727, 728, 729 (See also another specimen engraved in pl in fig 83)



صرف فى رسم العد الراحي رحمة الله محمد بن تغلق—  
Obverse—Circular area The Kalmah

هذا الديار حصرة دهلي فى سة سع و عشرين و سعماية—Margin—

No 174 A specimen of this class of money, in the collection of Col Stacey, now in the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (in weight 199 grs), struck at Deogir, in A H 727, has the following exceptional marginal legend —

هذا الديار قه دين اسلام اعنى حصرة ديوگر ٧٣٧

See also M Soret's coin, No xix of my Supplement, Num Chron 1852, xv p 129

Deogir or Daulatabad was specially designated at this period by the prefix of قه الاسلام Masalik al Abkar, Notices et Extr xiii p 210<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Au rapport du cheikh Moubarak le royaume de l'Inde a pour capitale la ville de Dehli. Ensuite vient la ville de Dewakir, qui fut fondée par le Sultan de cet empire, et nommée par lui قه الاسلام la métropole de l'Islamisme. Cette place ajoute le cheikh est située dans le troisième climat. Lorsque je l'ai quittée, il y a six ans, les constructions n'étaient point achevées et je doute qu'aujourd'hui elles soient terminées à raison de l'immense étendue de son enceinte, et du nombre prodigieux d'édifices qu'elle devait renfermer. Le prince l'avait divisée en quartiers, dont chacun était destiné à des hommes d'une même profession. On distinguait le quartier des troupes, celui des vizirs et des écrivains, celui des kadi et des savants, celui des cheikhs et des fakirs, celui des marchands et de ceux qui exercent des états lucratifs. Chaque quartier devait renfermer tout ce qui

No 175 Gold Weight, 170 gts SULTÁNPÚR (Warangol),<sup>1</sup>  
A.H. 729 Very rare Col Guthrie



الواشق بنائى

أشهد أن لا إله

الرحمن محمد

الإله وآله

شاه السلطان

أن محمدًا عبده

Margin—

صرف هذا الديار شر سلطان بور

رسول

سنه تسعه وعشرين و سعمايه

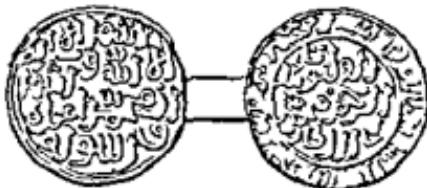
pouvait suffire à tous les besoins, les mosquées, les minarets, les marchés les bains, les moulins les fours, et les artisans de tout genre jusqu'aux forgerons aux teinturiers, aux corroyeurs, en sorte que les habitants n'eussent aucun besoin de recourir à d'autres pour leurs ventes leurs achats et les autres nécessités de la vie et que chacun de ces quartiers formât comme une ville séparée, entièrement indépendante de celles qui l'avoisinaient.—Not et Ext xiii p 172.

See also Ibn Batutah, iii 182, 191, iv 46-51 The revenue of the province is incidentally stated to have been farmed at 17 *krors* of *tourLahs*, p 49 Dr Lees's Translation p 163

"If the visitor passes his eye over the modern town of Rozah (which occupies merely a small part of the site of the vast old city), he will see in the distance the fortress of Daulatābād all the intervening plain for about six miles must have been covered with buildings of the old city. The ancient reservoir of the city, called *Gārī Rāwan Sdah* or the *Pars Talāo*,<sup>2</sup> is situated about two miles S W of Rozah. The site of this old city, and perhaps its traditional history, must have pleased Muhammad bin Tughlak who twice attempted to force the population of Dehlī to remove to it. The mint or *Tunksāl* of this king was close to the *Pars Talāo*. In this mint were coined the mohurs and rupees that formed the fictitious currency specimens of which are frequently turned up by the plough of the modern cultivator.—Col Tremlow, Jour. Bombay Branch, R A S 1853 p 376

<sup>1</sup> See p 188, *ante* Lat 17° 58, long 79° 40 —Grant Duff, i 47

No. 175a. Gold. Weight, 170 grs. Sultánpur, A.H. 729. Col. Guthrie.



Legends identical with those on No. 175.

No. 176 (pl. in fig. 84, and Marsden, DCCXVI.). Gold Weight, 169 3 grs. DELHI, A.H. 727, 733, 736.

Circular area.

فِي عَبْدٍ  
مُحَمَّدٌ بْنُ  
تُغْلِقَ  
بَحْرَةٌ دَهْلِيٌّ سَيّدٌ  
Margin—  
بَيْتٌ وَثَلَاثَيْنَ وَسَعْمَاءَيَةٌ

وَاللَّهِ

الْغَنِيُّ وَأَنْتُمُ

الْفَقَرَاءُ

“Deus est dives; vos autem  
indigi estis”<sup>1</sup>

No. 177. Gold. Weight, 99 0 grs. Unique Mr. E. C. Bayley<sup>2</sup>

مُحَمَّدٌ  
بْنُ  
تُلْعَقَ شَاهٌ



سَيّدٌ  
سَخَاتِنٌ  
الْمُسْتَبْنَ

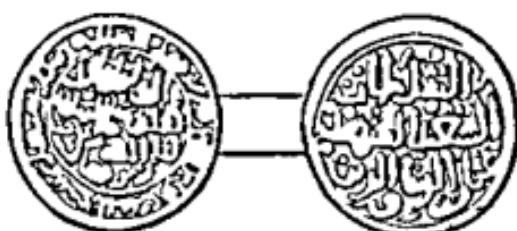
“Defender of the laws of the  
last of the Prophets”

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنَّمَا تَعْرِفُنَّ إِلَيْنَا اللَّهُ دُوْلَتُ الْعَسْرِيٰ—  
<sup>بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ</sup>  
Kurán. Surah 35, 15—  
يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنَّمَا تَعْرِفُنَّ إِلَيْنَا اللَّهُ دُوْلَتُ الْعَسْرِيٰ—  
الْمُحَمَّدٌ  
“Oh men, ye have need of God, but God is self-sufficient, and to be  
praised.”—Sale. Fréhn. p 177. De Sacy, J. des Sav. 1827, p 277

<sup>3</sup> I regret to say that this valuable coin has been lost. It was made over to  
Mr. Basire some years ago to be engraved, but it was abstracted from his drawers  
with many other choice specimens from Mr. Bayley's collection. I myself outlined  
the above woodcut from the original coin, and published it at Delhi in 1851.

*Coin struck in memory of his Father*

No 178 Gold Weight, 245 grs (A worn coin) Unique  
Col Guthrie A II 73-



Circular area

أبو المظفر

تعلن شاه السلطان

أنا لله ربنا

Margin— صرف هذه السکه

سنة ثالث و سعمائة

السلطان

السعد الشديد

عاث الدسا و الدین

This is a most interesting coin, seemingly struck by Muhammad bin Tughlak, in one of his eccentric moods, in memory of his father. There is nothing definite in the legends to prove this assignment except the *decimal* in the date, which might be questioned in the imperfect marginal legend, but which is sufficiently clear on the original piece, though scarcely legible in the English engraving. The type of the coin, which was only introduced by the son, takes it out of the category of the mintages of the father, and the exaggerated weight equally points to an exceptional issue, a coincidence in which the piece accords with the posthumous medals of Muhammad bin Sám (No 19 *suprà*). But the crucial test of the date of the coin consists in the superiority of the calligraphy and the improvement in the die execution initiated by Muhammad bin Tughlak<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> No 178a I have a *Pura a pice* (in weight 51 grains) of fine silver which seems equally due to a later period than the reign of Tughlak Shah. The legends themselves are similar to but not identical with, those of the gold coin, No 178.

No 179 Gold Weight, 169 grs Unique Gen T P Smith  
A II 739

صرب في زمن العبد الراحي رحمة الله محمد بن—Ottosse

السلطان السعيد الشهيد تعلق شادسه تسعة وثلاثة وسبعينه—Reveres

## SILVER COINS

No 180 (pl. in fig 87) Silver 'Adah Weight, 140 grs  
Delhi, a n 725, 726

|                          |               |
|--------------------------|---------------|
| الواشق سائد              | اشدآن لا      |
| الرحمن محمد              | الله الالله   |
| شاه السلطان              | واشداں محمدًا |
| Margao—                  | سدا ورسوله    |
| صرت هدا العدلی سحرة دھلی |               |
| سے حمس و عشرين و سعماييه |               |

No 181 Silver 'Adali' Weight, 138 grs. An 727 Unique  
Dehli Archaeological Society's collection. Similar legends, but the  
form of this specimen is changed in shape from the usual broad  
pieces into a thick and narrow coin, like No 88, pl. 11.

but the superior metal the form of the piece and especially the fashioning of the letters associate it with the issues of Muhammad bin Tughlak. The legend runs—

السلطان السد الشهد العارى عبات الدسا

ابو المعمّر تعلّم شاد السلطان ابا الرّحمة

The date is nearly obliterated but the most important figure the 7, seems to be positive

No 182 (pl. in fig. 88) Silver (largely alloyed) Weight, 140 grs<sup>1</sup>  
A.H. 728, 729, 730

|              |              |
|--------------|--------------|
| السلطان      | صربي         |
| السعد الشهيد | في رسم العبد |
| علی شاه سنه  | الراحي رحمة  |
| ثمان وعشرين  | الله محمد    |
| وسعمايه      | لس           |

No 183 Silver and copper. Weight, 140 grs A.H. 732  
Unique Mr E C Bayley

Coin similar in its form and the details of its legends to No 182

No 184 (pl. in fig. 90) Silver Weight, 168.5 grs B.M.  
A.H. 730

|                      |                  |
|----------------------|------------------|
| الله عز              | ابو بكر          |
| الله محمد            | الصحابي          |
| رسول الله            | سليم الله        |
| Margin—.             | محمد بن تعلق شاه |
| صربي هده السکه       | رس               |
| في سنه ثلثين وسعمايه |                  |

No 185 Silver Weight, 168.0 grs Satgaon, A.H. 730  
Areas as above

Margin—  
صربي هده السکه ستکابو می سنه ثلثين وسعمايه—  
Coin struck by Bahadur Shah of Bengal in the name of Muhammad  
bin Tughlak (referred to at p. 201 *suprd*)

<sup>1</sup> Average weight of eight selected specimens 139.6 grains, highest weight observed 140 grains. The less carefully executed coins of 730 A.H. range as high as 140.3 grains but these pieces are more largely alloyed with copper, so that their weight need not have been so much cared for.

186 Silver Weight, 140 grs Sonargaon, A.H. 728 Unique  
Delhi Archaeological Society

صرف ناصر الواثق بالله مسند بن تعلق شاه  
Obverse { Area, هدة السکه مکحصہ سارکابو سہ ثمان و  
Margin, عشرين و سعمايه

Reverse السلطان المعظم عاث الدسا و الدن ابو  
المطغر نادر شاه السلطان ان السلطان

No 187 (pl. vi fig. 6) Silver Weight, 168.5 grs  
Lakhnauti, A.H. 733 Areas as in No. 184

صرف هدة العصۃ شعر لکسوی سہ ثلاٹ و ٹلش و سعمايه—

No 188 Silver Weight, 168 grs Unique<sup>1</sup> (My cabinet)  
Dar ul Islám, A.H. 784



مسی عبید  
محمد بن  
سعیان

والله  
العی و اس  
الغیراء

دار الاسلام سہ اربع و ٹلش و سعمايه—  
Margin

## SMALL COINS SILVER

No 189 (pl. III fig. 91) Silver Weight, 56 grs  
AH 726, 727

السلطان العادل—*Obverse*

محمد بن علي شاه—*Reverse*—726

No 190 Silver Weight, 52 grs AH 725

المحايد في سبل الله—*Obverse*

محمد بن علي شاه—*Reverse*—725

No 191 Silver Weight, 52 grs AH 730 Col Stacey

أبو الفتح سر الله—*Obverse*

محمد بن علي شاه—*Reverse*—730

No 192 Silver Weight, 51 grs AH 727, 732

في رون السلطان العادل محمد بن تعليشاد—*Obverse*

دامت سلطنته في سبع وعشرين وسبعين—*Reverse*

No 193 (pl. III fig. 93) Silver Weight, 55 grs AH 732, 733,  
734, 735, 736, 738, 739, in copper, 732, in brass, 733

الملك والعلمة لله—*Obverse*

“Dominion and greatness are of God”

عبد الراحي محمد تعلق—*Reverse*—732

No 194 Silver Weight, 51.5 grs AH 727, 730, 733, 734,  
735, 736, 737, 738

الراحي رحمة الله الكرم—*Obverse*

محمد بن علي سبع وثلاثين، سبعين—*Reverse*

## MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLAK'S CURRENCIES.

This may be the fittest opportunity of adverting to the change effected in the national coinage of India between the epoch of the first establishment of the Muhammadan mints under Altamsh and the reforms introduced by Muhammad bin Tughlak. It is a curious but readily explicable fact that all attempts to discover, from the writings of indigenous authors, the authoritative scheme or the relative values of the local coinage have hitherto proved futile. The contemporary writers necessarily spoke of things around them as matters of course, regarding which no details or explanations were required; they mentioned from time to time the various coins of the realm, but only in general terms with reference to prices, payments or gifts, without defining the current interchangeable rates of the several coins thus adverted to.\* The later Indian historians seem themselves to have had a difficulty in fixing and determining the system of money values obtaining in earlier times, and it was left for chance travellers, like Ibn Batutah, to supply many important specifications of the current rates of exchange, which could not be gathered from home sources; but a still more communicative visitor to the Court of Dehli at the same period has left upon record a full and complete epitome of the various descriptions of money employed in Hindustán.

The narrative of Shaikh Mubárik bin Mahmúd *Anbati*, the traveller in question, has been incorporated in an Egyptian work entitled (مسالک الاصرار) *Masálik al Absár*,<sup>1</sup> a unique MS. of which is to be found in the Imperial Library at Paris. The contents of this MS. have been examined and copiously

\* The compiler of this work also quotes, among his other authorities, Súbj-ud-din Abú'l-fath Omar of *Oudh*.

abstracted by M. Quatremère in vol. xiii. of the *Notices et Extraits* (p. 51, *et seq.*). It is from this excellent article that I derive the information which I have thrown into the subjoined tabular form. The statements now contributed are not only very complete in themselves, but are so consistent with the numismatic data, that I accept them unhesitatingly as settling at rest many necessarily crude speculations wherewith I formerly attempted to arrive at a solution of the problem,—conjectures based primarily upon the weights and intrinsic contents of the coins themselves, aided by the very imperfect light our native authors had chanced to throw upon the inquiry.<sup>1</sup> There is one point that it is necessary to bear in mind in regard to the statements of Shaikh Mubârak, which is, that they refer to the latter portion of the reign of Muhammad Tughlak, and illustrate a somewhat complicated and transitional stage of the currency, more especially in the matter of the double silver standard created by the Sultân's introduction of the new 'adâh of 140 grains, which he himself seems to have again superseded by the approximate weight of the old *tankah*, in his silver money of 734 A.H.

<sup>1</sup> My first impression, in 1847, led me to say that the *Adâh* was probably the *jital* of Fershtah (Pathân Sultans, 1st edit., p. 61), and so it has proved, though the statements of the earlier native authorities had cast a doubt upon Fershtah's accuracy, which his own confession of ignorance as to the nature of the *jital* itself was not calculated to remove. The original passage is quoted from Briggs's Translation at p. 158, *suprad.* "As the spoken languages of the Peninsula enabled us to restore the true meaning to the misinterpreted Sanskrit *Arsha*, so the Dravidian tongues readily explain the term *Adâh*, which finds no place in Aryan vocabularies, but which was incorporated into the vernaculars of Hindustân during the southward migrations of the Scythic tribes. In Telugu, *Adâh* means  $\frac{1}{16}$ , or one quarter of a sixteenth (Brown). In Canarese,  $\frac{1}{16}$  (Reeve), and in Tamil  $\frac{1}{16}$  (Winslow). Wilson's Glossary gives *Adâh*, corruptly, *catney*. Tel Tam. Karn.  $\frac{1}{16}$ , or sometimes  $\frac{1}{4}$ ." Mr. W. H. Bayley, late Madras C.S., tells me that in modern books, and in the everyday practical measurement of land or other linear calculations, the *Adâh* is invariably estimated at  $\frac{1}{16}$ . The *do-gâdhâ* or *doodee* is still quoted in the Madras almanacks.

(Coin, No. 188; weight, 168 grs.). Though no very definite conclusion, as to the effect upon the general circulation, can be drawn from the appearance of this silver piece, which may have been the result of a momentary whim, and there is, it must be confessed, a marked absence of any other representative silver coins, whether *tankahs* or *'adalis*, during the concluding eighteen years of Muhammad Tughlak's reign, though gold of the old standard of 175 grains was freely issued.

THE STATE COINAGE AND ITS INTERCHANGEABLE RATES UNDER  
MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHHLAK.<sup>1</sup>

1 Káni=1 Jítal.

2 „ =Do-káni or *Sultáni*.

6 „ =Shash-káni,  $\frac{1}{4}$  of Hasht-káni.

8 „ =Hasht-káni.

12 „ =Duwázdah-káni.

16 „ =Shánzdah-káni.

64 „ =1 Tankah.

64 Kánis=1 Tankah of 175 grs. pure silver.

32 Do-kánis=1 Tankah of 175 grs. pure silver.

8 Hasht-kánis=1 Tankah of 175 grs. pure silver.

4 Shánzdah-kánis=1 Tankah of 175 grs. pure silver

The Káni exchanged against 4 copper *Fals* } So that, the full change,  
„ Do-káni „ „ 8 „ } in copper pieces, for the  
„ Hasht-káni „ „ 32 „ } Tankah, amounted to 256

<sup>1</sup> The coinage as amplified and extended under Firuz Shah. (The text of *Shams-i-Siraj*, which furnishes these details, will be found under Firuz's coins.)

64 Kánis=old Tankah of 175 grs. 50 Kánis=new 'Adali of 140 grs.

The irregular sub-divisions of the concurrent Tankah of 64 and 'Adali of 50 Kánis are as follows —1 Káni, 2, 6, 8, 10, 12, 24, 25, and 48. The 16 Káni piece is not quoted in the later lists. The 10, 24, and 48 Káni pieces seem to have been additional sub-divisions introduced by Firuz Shah. The 25 Káni piece was probably only the old Nişti or half 'Adali of Muhammad bin Tughlak. Firuz Shah also claims to have produced for the sake of the poor  $\frac{1}{2}$  Káni and  $\frac{1}{4}$  Káni, in mixed copper and silver, I presume, as the 4 Fals already supplied any broken change below the single Káni or Jital.

The most striking item disclosed by the details of the above table is the essentially indigenous character of the divisional contents of the *tanlah* and its analogous fractional sub-divisions, both of which follow the ancient Indian quaternary scale of numeration in all its integrity. *Fives* and *tens* are here positively unknown quantities, and decimals of no account.

Altamsh was supposed to have recognized, in a general sense, the existing local standard, but it would seem that he must have adopted the prevailing monetary institutions weights, measures etc., *en bloc*, and that these remained undisturbed till Alâ ud din in the first instance, and Muhammad bin Tughlak in the second, gained new and enlarged views associated possibly with other Indian traditions, during their expeditions to the Dakhan. The retention by Altamsh, so unreservedly, of local systems of reckoning in the minor sums up to the measure of the *tanlah* would seem necessarily to imply that the latter weight itself formed a definite unit both theoretically and practically, in the pre-existing monetary computations. This is a concession which could not previously have been claimed, as Altamsh might have been supposed to have retained a leaning to Ghaznavi standards and the new *tanlah* might well have stood for a double *dirâ*. The turning point, however, in this identification depends mainly upon the authentic weight of the true Indian unit the *ratî*, as recognized at the period in the exact locality of the Metropolitan Mint, and it is not impossible that the coins themselves may aid in fixing this still indeterminate quantity. The query then presents itself as to how many *ratîs* of gold or silver this *tanlah* was estimated to contain. The first answer within reasonable limits suggested by the progression of *scours* in the table just given, would be

96; but it is a very singular fact that the old Tables of Weights in Manu *do* introduce a decimal element after 32 *ratis* in the silver weights, and after 320 *ratis* in the gold weighments, the latter having already felt something of the decimal action in the initial use of the 5 *ratis* to 1 *masha*; and, finally, we have an absolute silver *satamána* or 100 *manas* weight.<sup>1</sup> A very important bit of collateral evidence is con-

<sup>1</sup> a ANCIENT INDIAN WEIGHTS (from Manu, c viii § 134)

*Silver.*

2 Ratis = 1 *Masha*

32 „ = 16 „ = 1 *Dharana* or *Parána*

320 „ = 160 „ = 10 „ „ = 1 *Satamána*

*Gold*

5 Ratis = 1 *Masha*

80 „ = 16 „ = 1 *Suvarna*

320 „ = 64 „ = 4 „ = 1 *Pala* or *Nishka*

3200 „ = 640 „ = 40 „ = 10 „ „ = 1 *Dharana*.

*Copper*

80 *ratis* = 1 *kárhápana*.

b The subjoined table of weights is valuable for the purposes of comparison, as possibly owing its origin to an independent section of Indian progress. It has been preserved in the *Atharva Paríshátha*, a work supposed to date some centuries B.C., where it is expressly stated to be designed for the weighment of *gh*, or the clarified butter employed in the sacrificial rites of the Brahmins.

Among other curious items, the text records the fact that the assumed *unit* in the descending scale was the *drona*, a measure for which a divine origin is claimed, as having been "given of old by Brahma himself."

5 Ratis = 1 *Masha*

320 „ = 64 „ = 1 *Palam*

10,240 „ = 2,048 „ = 32 „ = 1 *Prashham*.

40,960 „ = 8,192 „ = 128 „ = 4 „ = 1 *Atkam*.

163,840 „ = 32,768 „ = 512 „ = 16 „ = 4 „ = 1 *Dropa*

—Über den Veda kalender, Namens Jyotisham, von A. Weber, Berlin (1862), p 82

This table is highly interesting, not only on account of its antiquity, which probably approaches that of the parallel tables from Manu, but for the indications of a combination of two independent systems of calculation which it discloses. I gather from the text quoted by Professor Weber from the *Atharva Paríshátha*

tributed by the subsequently-devised 'adalis, whose weights are much more closely defined both in the beautiful silver coins of Muhammad bin Tughlak, and in the better speci-

(Jyotisha, Abhandlungen der Kgl Ak der Wis, Berlin, 1862, p 82), and other illustrative items he has collected from the early Sanskrit authorities (Zeitschrift (1861), p 129), that the *drona* "measured by Brahma," and the *pala*, stated to be  $\frac{1}{512}$ th of the former, in the same passage, were weights affected by the Vedic Aryans, the *pala* alone is mentioned in the *Nirukta*, and the *mdshaka* is not found in any texts "supposed to be" authentically Vedic, while in the slokas which furnish the details of the present table, the *pāstha* is directly and the *dhaka* (*ddhaka*) indirectly pronounced to be a Magadha weight. It will be seen that the table is identical in its details, in the ascending scale, with the series of gold weights from Manu, up to the *pala* or *nishka*, when the Indian *fours* reassert themselves in the progressive advances, in lieu of the *ten pala*s, which constitute the next increase in the earlier scales for the measure of gold.

I have collected the subjoined tables from various sources, with a view to illustrate more completely the general subject of Indian weights

*c. TABLE OF INDIAN WEIGHTS* (from Babar's Memoirs, p 332)

|           |                                  |
|-----------|----------------------------------|
| 8 Ratis = | 1 Masha.                         |
| 32 "      | = 4 " = 1 Tang                   |
| 40 "      | = 5 " = 1 Misqul                 |
| 96 "      | = 12 " = 1 Tolah                 |
| 1344 "    | = 168 " = 14 " = 1 Sir           |
| 53760 "   | = 6720 " = 560 " = 40 " = 1 Man. |

"And it is fixed that everywhere 40 Sirs make one Man. They reckon jewels and precious stones by the Tang." See also note, p 16, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann's translation, Calcutta, 1868, and text, pp 31, 36

*d. Kashmir weights*; from the *Ain-i-Akbari*, ii. p 156, Gladwin's edition —

1 Tolah = 16 mdshas of six *ratis* each, or 96 *ratis*.

1 Gold mohur = 16 *ddms* of six *ratis* each, or  $\frac{4}{6}$  *ratis* more than the Delhi gold mohur.

*Rabeasu* is a small coin of 9 *mdshas* or 54 *ratis*

*Punchee* is a copper coin in value  $\frac{1}{4}$  *ddm*, also called *kussoreh*

*Bdraghani* is  $\frac{1}{2}$  the *punchee* or  $\frac{1}{8}$  *ddm*

*Shukri* is  $\frac{1}{4}$  *bdraghani*

4 *Punchees* or *kussorehs* = 1 *hut*

40 " " = 1 *sdsnu*, and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *sdsnu* = 1 *sikkah*

100 *sdsnu* = 1 *ldk* = 1000 royal *ddms*

Every coin and even manufactures are estimated in Kharwars of rice . . .

mens of the brass tokens which were designed to replace these 50 *lāni* pieces in the general circulation.

These coins, as a rule, touch very closely upon the exact 140 grains, and it is scarcely possible to doubt that this weight represents the 80 *rati* gold *surarna* equally with the copper *karsha* of Manu's Tables, the copper *het*, the authoritative unit of the ancient Egyptians<sup>1</sup>. If the former association is conceded, my estimate of the *rati* at 1.75 grains falls in with singular evenness; for the 'adah,  $80 \times 1.75 = 140$ , for the silver *tankah* or *ṣataraktīla*,  $100 \times 1.75 = 175$ .<sup>2</sup> I do

They have a weight of 2 *dmns*, called *pul*, and they also make use of the half and quarter of this weight,  $\frac{1}{2}$  of these *puls* make 1 *sir*, 4 *sirs* a *man*, 4 *mans* 1 *turak*.

<sup>1</sup> page 196, "Coins of Kabul. 18 dinars = 1 tuman, which = 800 *dmns*."

c. TABLE OF INDIAN AND OTHER FOREIGN WEIGHTS, from the *Haft Kulzum*

|                       |              |                                         |
|-----------------------|--------------|-----------------------------------------|
| 1 جو jao (यव)         | barley-corn  | = 1 حبة habbat, 'a grain, a seed.'      |
| 1 تسو tasū            |              | = 2 حـ „                                |
| 4 جو                  | barley-corns | = 1 قيراط kīrat (κεράτιον) Carob.       |
| 8 حبة                 | „            | = 1 دانگ (A. dāng ( $\frac{1}{6}$ th)). |
| 48 جو                 | „            | = 1 درهم (A. dirham.                    |
| 68 حبة                | „            | = 1 مسکال miskāl (مسکال).               |
| 306 حبة or 4½         | مسکال        | = 1 أستار astār, sir (सेटक).            |
| 510 حـ or 7½ miskāls  |              | = 1 اوقية aukiat (ounce).               |
| 6120 حـ or 12 aukiat  |              | = 1 رطل rāṭl (pound).                   |
| 12240 حـ or 24 aukiat |              | = 1 مسـ mann.                           |

See also variants in *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann's Calcutta edition, p. 36.

<sup>1</sup> E. S. Poole, "Weights and Measures."—Smith's Dict. Bible.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, pp. 3, 167. Sir W. Jones rated the *rati* at  $1 \frac{5}{16}$  of a grain. Gen. Cunningham's estimate of the weight of the *rati* is 1.8229 grains. Mr. Maskelyne's 1.83—Initial Coinage of Bengal, p. 9

Sir W. Elliot, in answer to my inquiries as to the assimilation of the Southern

not wish to claim this coincidence for more than it is worth, as it is but one link in a long chain, and the primitive weights of India had no doubt already been largely modified in different localities, and were somewhat advanced in their progress towards the extraordinary multiplicity of provincial standards, that so offend against the English idea of uniformity at the present day. Concurrently with the development of the 'adali, in which a reduction of  $\frac{1}{3}$ th, or 20 per cent., upon the old *tankah* of 175 grains, was effected, there appears a new gold piece, which is raised in weight above the old gold *tankah* of 175 grains by  $\frac{1}{8}$ th, or about 14 $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent., forming a coin of 200 grains, specially designated on its surface as a *dindr*.<sup>1</sup> This particular type of coin was destined to have but a brief career, as the dates 725, 726 A. H., and a single speci-

systems with the data afforded by the Dehli coins, has favoured me with the subjoined note on the subject — "I have never met with a coin answering to the *tankah* of 140 or 175 grains. The largest pieces I know range between 55 and 60 grains, generally about 58 grains (but I have one of 66 9 grains). They go by the name of *tankahs*, as "padma-*tankah*," "varaha-*tankah*," etc. Some of them are figured in my Gleanings (figs 28 and 33 of No. 1, and figs 1 and 2 of No. 2). This bears no apparent relation to your *tankah*. The Dravidian *pon* I take to have weighed 29 or 30 grains, and these Southern *tankahs* I suppose to be *double pon*. This is borne out by the old arithmetical tables, in which accounts are still kept

$$2 \text{ gunjas} = 1 \text{ dugala} \left( = \frac{1}{2} \text{ fanam} \right)$$

$$2 \text{ dugalas} = 1 \text{ chavala} \left( = \text{the panam or fanam} \right).$$

$$2 \text{ chavalas} = 1 \text{ d. hárana}$$

$$2 \text{ d. háranas} = 1 \text{ hoja} \left( = \text{the pratápa, mada or } \frac{1}{2} \text{ pagoda} \right).$$

$$2 \text{ hojas} = 1 \text{ varáha} \left( = \text{the hún or pagoda} \right)$$

The *gunja* or unit ( $= \frac{1}{4}$  fanam) is the *rati* or Sanskrit *rakti-ka*, the seed of the abrus I have weighed numbers of these, and found them to vary from 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 grains, or even more, a fair average would be 1 $\frac{1}{4}$  grains. Jervis (weights of the Konkan) and Prinsep, deducing the relative weights from the *mash*, make it 1.93 grains. But taking my average of 1.75 grains, we get your *tankah* or *sat-rakti-ka* = 100 *rati*, exactly 175 grains."

<sup>1</sup> Some of these coins are in very perfect condition, so to say, new from the dies, so that the weight may apparently be relied on. The half *dindr*, No. 177, at 99 grains, is a minor test of the true issue weight.

men of 727 A.H., are all the examples that can be cited from the ten or twelve specimens accessible in modern cabinets; but the same weight is preserved in the varied type of coin Nos. 173, 174. The change in the form of these pieces seems to have been made upon artistic and mechanical grounds, and not to have had any reference to weights or values.<sup>1</sup> Some of these latter specimens are met with, ranging as high as 199 grains, coined in the course of 727 A.H., but rapidly deteriorating in weight, till examples of the same year's issue fall to 188, 168, and even to the ignominious 137 grains, which, however, may, each and all, have suffered from the sweater's abstractions.

One coincidence in the scale of the minor subdivisions of the silver standard must not be passed over in silence, as it evidences a singular concession to ancient custom, in the weights assigned to Muhammad bin Tughlak's small silver pieces, Nos 189, 190, 193, 194. The annual dates on these varieties, taken in broken order, cover a period of fourteen years, less the temporary break due to the forced currency.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "I had previously noted the motives for this change, which extended to the silver pieces of the same epoch. The years 727-728 A.H. present us with fresh modifications both in the types and legends of the recently revised coinage of Delhi. The examples, gold 173, silver 180, 189, exhibit the same elegance of design and accuracy of execution that mark the earlier efforts of Muhammad bin Tughlak's mint artists. The form of coin now adopted was probably held, in many respects, to be an improvement upon the broad pieces antecedently put forth, as under the Oriental method of preparing the *planchets* (blanks), the equable division of each could be effected with far greater facility when cut from a narrow bar than when divided into the thin plates necessitated by the ingot of the larger diameter, calculated for the broad coins. In addition to this advantage, the smaller size of the dies, and the diminished depth of the engraving of the fine lines of the legends, demanded less labour, in the process of striking, to produce a perfect medal, than was required to complete the impression of the broader and coarser coin of earlier days"—Pathán Sultans, Suppl., Num. Chron., p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> A.H. 725, 726, 727, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739.

There can be little question, whatever may be held to be the true weight of the *rati*, that we have in these pieces the medieval representatives of Manu's 32 *rati* silver *purâna*, or the successors of the earliest description of money prior to the introduction of the art of coining, the punched dominoes of silver, which aided the first step beyond barter, among the pre-Aryan Indians.<sup>1</sup> Fifty-six or fifty-seven grains will not divide evenly either into 175 or 140, but ten such pieces of 56 grains, being 1.75 grain to the *rati*, exactly answer to the old silver *satamana* of 320 *ratis* (560 grains), of which mention has already been made; and, curious to say, the silver piece itself, allowing for a fractional depreciation in the metal, represents the value of 80 copper *fals*, as they are stated to have exchanged with the other subdivisions of the *tankah*. The 20 *kâni* piece,<sup>2</sup> thus retained in the general scheme of the Quaternary distribution of the silver coinage, and for which a counterpart was provided in the forced currency, may once have belonged to an independently devised system; but both the 32 and the 80 *ratis*, the advance of 16 upon 24, identify it closely with ancient calculations, and especially with the progression to the 80 *ratis*, in the Gold and Copper Tables of Manu, which formed alike the gold *surâna* and the copper *harshapana*.

Having completed the review of comparative weights, it remains to test and ascertain values. The new 'adalis or 50 *kâni* pieces are, to all appearance, composed of less pure silver than the old *tankahs* of 64 *kânis*. This depreciation may have been intentional or otherwise,<sup>1</sup> but it looks as if it

<sup>1</sup> Earliest Indian Coinage, Numismatic Chronicle, vol. iv., N.S. (1864), p. 265, Journal As. Soc. Bengal, vol. xxxiv (1865), p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> As 175 64 66. 20 48

<sup>3</sup> Some of Alâ-ul-din's silver pieces seem to fall off from the old standard of

had been designed to meet some alteration in the other exchanges. Coincident with the production of 'adahs, mention is made for the first time of *shashkhanis*, or pieces of six, which Shaikh Mubárik intimates were useful in exchanges, and perhaps designed for the purpose of settling uneven payments, being, as he remarks,  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the established *hashtkáni*, eight of which, as their name implies, went to the 64 *káni tankah*<sup>1</sup>. These *shashkánis* would not run in even sums, either into 64 or 50, though they made a second division of 8 into 48, a total seemingly of some prominence in the bázárs, as Firúz Sháh subsequently provided a distinct denominational coin for that amount. The *hashtkánis* appear previously to have formed a very important element of the general currency;<sup>2</sup> they were composed, like so many of the

white silver, his Dákhán gold, on the other hand, is unpleasantly white. See coin No. 131, *ante*.

<sup>1</sup> Le lakh vaut cent mille tankah تکہ et le tankah huit dirhams — Not et Extr. xiii. 182

<sup>2</sup> I have to correct my reading of the passage from Ibn Batutah, quoted at page 17 of my *Initial Coinage of Bengal*. I now see that the conventional rate of exchange of gold and silver in the later period of Muhammad bin Tughlak's reign was 1 : 10. Ibn Batutah in other places (ii. 76, iii. 106, 187) distinctly sets this question at rest, even if Shaikh Mubárik did not inferentially confirm the fact (Not. et Extr. xiii. 211, 212). The concluding portion of the passage from Ibn Batutah is as follows —

الديار الفص هو ثمانية دراهم ودرهم بم كالمدرهم المقرة سوا

“Celui ci [le dinár d'argent] vaut huit drachmes, et leur drachme équivaut absolument à la drachme d'argent” (vol. iv p. 210). I was misled by the use of the word *dinar*, which is so specially reserved for the gold pieces in the Dehli coinages, into supposing that the passage had reference in some obscure way to the rate of gold to silver, but further examination proves that Ibn Batutah had an odd way of applying the term *dindr* as دراهم, etc (iii. 254, 387, 422) (See also Col. Yule's summary of Ibn Batutah's notices of money in his excellent work on “Cathay and the Way thither,” p. cxlviii.) All Ibn Batutah appears to mean is that the *dindr* of silver (i.e. *tankah*?) is equal to 8 dirhams (*hashtkáni*), and their dirham is identical in form with the silver piece. But considerable doubt must still

indigenous coins of historic sequence, of a mixture of silver and copper in the proportions requisite to represent the value of  $\frac{1}{8}$ th of a *tankah*, and are specifically described by the western travellers as identical in weight and partially in appearance with the silver coin itself. They may be identified with some of the examples of No 182, the intrinsic contents alone determining the value in each case, so that the pure silver coins stamped with the same dies<sup>1</sup> are, doubtless, revised forms of '*adalis*', equally as their more extensively alloyed associates may be found to answer to the value of a *shashkani*. This modification in the form of the '*adah*' took place simultaneously with the alteration in the

exist as to the true meaning of the passage, inasmuch as an almost counterpart statement in the *Masâlik al Absâr* adds the *silver dirham* "of Egypt" "Le dirhem *hashtkâni* a le même poids que le dirhem d'argent *à* que a cours en Egypte et en Syrie La valeur de l'une et l'autre pièce est la même." M Quatremère adds, "Le texte porte جواز حوارى جواز حوارى Je lis—". جواز حوارى جواز حوارى Not. et Extr. vol. xii. p. 211. I may remark that Shaikh Mubârak, if M Quatremère has rightly apprehended the passage quoted below, also designates the full *dirhem* or '*adali*' as a current *dîndr*. Thus irregular use of the word is in so far justified by local usage that we find Zîâ Barni saying—

طیع و زر و نقره و حوضکیاں بر تکه زر و نقره (Calcutta text, p. 143)  
دیوار زر و نقره و حوضکیاں بر تکه زر و نقره  
A difficulty has been felt in regard to the apparent inconsistency of Shaikh Mubârak having estimated the *dîndr* or silver dirham at 6 *dirhams*, I conclude *hashtkâpis*. M Quatremère's translation is as follows "800 Toumins dont chacun vaut 10,000 dinars courants et le dinar 6 dirhems en sorte que cet' somme se montant à 8 millions de dinars courants ou 48 millions de dirhems" (Not. et Extr. xii. 191) I suppose that the current *dîndr* here meant was the '*adali*', or its then representative, which, excluding fractions, would run, in a rough calculation, about *sar hashtkâpis*, or 48 instead of the 50 *kânis* required in the 140 grain silver piece. So also some confusion in the statement of nominal equivalents may have arisen from the 8 *shashkâpis*, that would have equally amounted to 48.

<sup>1</sup> The proper '*adalis*', No 180, which are broad pieces, date in 725, 726, 727 A.H. Nos 181, 182, which are thick coins, take up the succession, and contribute the final record of 727, 728, 729, 730 A.H.

gold pieces already averted to, and seemingly for similar objects, i.e. of securing less irregularity in the separation of the exact weight of silver required for each coin, from the bar or rod, into which the metal was fashioned, and facility of stamping, in the reduced size and relief of the letters of the legends<sup>1</sup> I may repeat, that the entire scheme of the sub-divisional currency intervening between the pure silver piece and the copper coin, proceeded upon the plan of mixing silver and copper in the definite proportions required for the several intrinsic values. These alloys were formed into coins identical in weight, shape, and device, so that buyers and sellers had in each case to determine by the eye and the hand the value of the piece tendered in payment. A state of things inconceivable to European ideas, but practically involving but little difficulty among the natives of India,<sup>2</sup> even if the ever-ready money changer were not within call.

These numismatic details, aided by the information contributed by the African travellers, enable us to set at rest the real import of the passage in the *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, which Ferishtah so strangely perverted,<sup>3</sup> and which led General

<sup>1</sup> Abu'l Faiz tells us that the metal was "cast into round ingots," in Hindostan the workman, without "such machine" as they require in Persia, cuts the sections "with such exactness that there is not the difference of a single hair"—*Kitab-i-Akbari*.

<sup>2</sup> "Practical men can discover from the colour of the compound which of the alloys (lead, tin, or copper) is prevailing"—*Kitab-i-Akbari*, Blochmann, i 22 Gladwin, L 16

<sup>3</sup> In referring to the early profusion of Muhammad bin Tughlaq, and the enormous sums he is reported to have squandered in gifts and pensions, Ferishtah incidentally alludes to the intrinsic value of the money of this monarch, affirming that, "Nizam ud-din Ahmad Bakshu, surprised at the vast sums stated by historians to have been lavished by this prince, took the trouble to ascertain, from authentic records, that these *tankahs* were of the silver currency of the day, in which was amalgamated a great deal of alloy, so that each *tankah* only exchanged

Briggs to assert that the silver *tankah* of Muhammad bin Tughlak was "worth only about 4*d* instead of 2*s*" The true reading of the original is to the effect that the *tankah* of this period was slightly alloyed with copper, so that it was only worth eight *black tankahs*. Eight *shashkanis* would, in effect, be equal to 48 *lanis* of real silver, or, admitting the alloy, to an '*adali*' of 140 grains. This rectification is of very considerable importance, as it determines within certain limits the value of the *black tankah* at about 16 4 grains of silver, or 2*½* pence, a definition which will prove highly useful in estimating the worth of the subsequent issues of the Sultans of Dehli. Under the new aspect of the inquiry now presented, I must not fail to amend my own suggestion at page 117, as to the possible identification of *black tankahs* with any of the moderately alloyed silver pieces of the generic name minted in Bengal or Hindústán.

The *shashkani*, if it exists in the composite form of mixed metal, seems to have been but little affected by the people at large, and probably remained for a long time more of a theoretical than a practical benefit. As far as can be seen, no

for 16 copper *piece* (making a *tankah* worth only about 4*d* instead of 2*s*) — Briggs's *Fershtah*, 1 p. 410

The Persian text of the original passage is as follows —

چانچه نظام الدین احمد حشی تحقیق کردہ مراد اریں تکہ سفرہ  
است کہ پارہ مس ہم داشت و یکی ارائے تکہارا شارہ پول مس  
سداد دید  
واصی ناشد کہ مراد اریں تکہ سفرہ است کہ پارہ ار مس ہم  
داشت و بہشت تکہ ساد برادر است

Tabakat : Akbari MS E.I. Library No 997, p. 75

Nizam ud-din Ahmad, a portion of whose text is reproduced verbatim in the copy instead of saying anything about copper *paissa*, simply states that the current *tankah* was equal to eight *black tankahs*.

provision was made for its substitute in the forced currency of 730 A.H.,<sup>1</sup> though the *hashtkáni* are common enough. It will be seen hereafter that Firuz Sháh claims to have invented the *shashkáni*, which would also imply that the number coined in the previous reign must have been to a certain extent limited. One novelty for which Muhammad bin Tughlak claims credit was the *dokáni*, or piece of two *kanis*,<sup>2</sup> which Shaikh Mubárik mentions was entitled after its royal deviser, *Sultáni*. This must have been a highly useful coin, "four going to the *hashtkáni*, three to the *shashkáni*;" and, finally, our translators concludes, "Une pièce qui est la moitié du dirhem Sultani se nomme بکانی pièce d'un et vaut un حسل." The counterpart of which legend is to be found on Gen. Cunningham's coin, No. 207.

A point of considerable importance in the history of the monetary transactions of this period is the relative values of gold and silver. *The standard*, if any distinct conception of its meaning, as we understand it, existed at all, seems to have been based upon the primitive copper currency, which was of such universal distribution as to be confessedly less liable to fluctuation than gold or silver. Certainly, in Akbar's time, when theory was more distinctly applied to the subject, copper was established as the authoritative basis of all money computations.<sup>3</sup> Silver in its turn, next to copper, was necessarily most fixed and determinate in value,

<sup>1</sup> At one time I imagined I had discovered a token *shashkáni*, as the six dots of the شش seemed to be unquestionable, but as the second set of . . . may be intended for the marks of the final ك in *kdn*, I do not think it safe to quote a single specimen. The initial ح takes the form of حـ.

<sup>2</sup> The Arabic word quoted, in all its imperfection, by M. Quatremère is الدكاني. There can be little question as to the correct restoration.

<sup>3</sup> *Kin-i-Akbari*, 1 3, 4, 37, etc., *Num. Chron.* iv 118, *Oriid Fast* 1 220, *Lucretius*, v 1275, *Madden, Jewish Coinage*, 278

whence gold, from its comparative rarity, and the anxiety with which it was sought for at all times in India, whether for the purposes of hoarding<sup>1</sup> or the construction of ornaments, rendered it peculiarly liable to be affected by the laws of supply and demand. I am still sanguine enough to believe that the newly-devised gold and silver money, with which Muhammad bin Tughlak inaugurated his reign, will enable us to determine from the relative scale of proportions the actual rate prevailing at this period. It is true that the margin is wide, and the figures involved contribute more than one sum consistent in the several relations, but the predominance of evidence points clearly to 8:1 and 7:1. I do not in any way contest the fact that there is evidence to show that ten silver pieces exchanged against one of gold later in this reign, but this concession by no means implies that the ratio of the two metals was as 10:1. As has been said before, there is considerable obscurity in the narrations of the western travellers in regard to the definition of *dirhams* and *dinars*. About the old *tankahs* no possible question can arise, whether of gold or silver; they followed the same identical weight of 175 grains<sup>2</sup>. We have seen that

<sup>1</sup> The author of the *Maslik al Absar* has preserved a curious contemporary notice of this custom of the natives of India in Muhammad bin Tughlak's time. "Les habitants d'Inde ont la réputation d'aimer à amasser des richesses et à théâsaurier. Lorsque l'on demande à l'un d'entre eux combien il possède de bien, il répond: Je ne sais pas, mais je suis le second ou le troisième de ma famille, qui travaille à accroître le trésor que mon aïeul a déposé dans telle grotte, dans tel puits, et j'ignore à combien il se monte. Les Indiens ont l'usage de creuser des puits pour y renfermer leurs trésors. Quelques-uns pratiquent dans leurs maisons une excavation en forme de citerne, qu'ils ferment ensuite avec soin, n'y laissant que l'ouverture nécessaire pour y introduire des pièces d'or. C'est là qu'ils accumulent leurs richesses. Ils ne reçoivent point l'or travaillé, brisé ou en lingots, dans la crainte de la fraude, ils ne prennent ce métal que monnayé" (xiii. p 218).

<sup>2</sup> The *Tabakat-i-Nâsir* speaks of— تکه رونقہ (p 162), تکه های رمرج (p 162).

the Sultán borrowed these foreign terms and introduced them for the first time into the mint phraseology of Dehli, the one as applied to the 200 grain gold piece (No 171), the other as engraved on the tokens of the forced currency, which I suppose to have represented the early 'adali of 110 grains of silver (No 202)

The leading motive in these exceptional issues, and the subordinate readjustments consequent thereupon, seems to have been the utilization of the stores of gold which filled the Sultán's treasures, and without proposing to introduce a definite gold standard, which, under the surrounding circumstances, would doubtless have proved impracticable, he appears to have aimed at a large expansion of the currency of the land by direct means, associated with an equitable revision of the basis of exchange between gold and silver, which had been disturbed by the large accessions of the former from the Dakhan, unaccompanied by any proportionate addition to the supply of the latter

The early Pathán kings, judging by their numismatic remains, put forth gold in very limited quantities, and merely

(p 184), تکہ نقرہ (315), and carefully discriminates the contrast of the term هرار دیسار رو رکسی (pp 372 391, Calcutta text) دیسار

The Kharáin ul Futúh of Mir Khusrú makes play upon the various forms—  
تکہ رو سمس و تکای سرخ و سپید چون کل صوری و صد برکت تو بر تو  
ساده براران حامہلی کو باکون etc

Zád Barní also varies his phraseology—لطف—  
تکہ و چیل (p 118 also pp 130 492), چسل ار ریان او سروں سامدی (pp 137, 247), دانگت و درم (p 312), دنگت (p 469)

As late as the time of Kankobád foreign *dindárs* seem to have been retained in the coined state—  
و چندیں طق دیسار رو نقرہ و حوصکہای پر تکہ رو  
(Calcutta edition, p 143) نقرہ بر سر پدر و پسر بناو کر دید

as an adjunct in complement to the more abundant *silver tankahs*. Alá-ud-dín's plunder of the Dakhan, with its immemorial wealth of gold, is associated with a correspondingly ample increase of *gold tankahs* for home use. This influx of the higher metal, aided by the later contributions of Kásfúr<sup>1</sup> and Khusrú from the same sources, indicated in the mintages of succeeding reigns, may well have disturbed the ancient relations of the two metals. I had estimated the relative values as about 8 1, without pressing the assumption that this ratio represented the normal and immutable condition of things, but as a once existing and possibly recurring ratio<sup>2</sup> Col H. Yule, who has investigated these questions from an independent point of view, by the aid of the written testimony of Marco Polo and other western travellers in the East,<sup>3</sup> has suggested a probable fall in the value of gold, at

<sup>1</sup> Ferishtah, in mentioning Kásfúr's plunder, brought to Dehli in 711 A.H., amounting to 96 000 *mans* of gold, which was "melted down, coined, and lodged in the treasury," adds, silver was not used as a coin in the south.—Briggs, 1. 374. The *Masálik al Abṣar* also notices "un des prédecesseurs de ce Sultán ayant fait de grandes conquêtes, enleva des pays vaincus une telle quantité d'or qu'il en chargea 13 000 bœufs"—*Not et Extr* xii 218.

<sup>2</sup> *Initial Coinage of Bengal*, p 16, J.R.A.S., N.S., vol. ii p 160, Marco Polo, cap. *xxxx*.

<sup>3</sup> Col Yule, however, in insisting upon the 10 1 as the *normal* rate, has to do great violence to probabilities in claiming so sudden a change as that from 10 1 to 7 1, within a comparatively brief period, and attributing it to the influx of gold from the south, which in truth commenced with Alá-ud-dín's conquests in 693 A.H., or some thirty years prior to the accession of Muhammad bin Tughlak. The intermediate reigns show a well maintained proportion of gold to silver in extant examples, and we hear of no particular accession of southern gold as the result of Fakhr ud-dín Júná's command in that direction during his father's lifetime. Col Yule remarks—"It has occurred to me as just possible that the changes made by Muhammad bin Tughlak in the coinage may have had reference to the depreciation of gold owing to the 'great Dekhan prize money' of that age. Thus, previous to his time we have gold and silver coins of equal weight, and bearing (according to the view which has been explained) a nominal ratio of ten to one. Muhammad on coming to the throne finds that in conse-

the period of Muhammad bin Tughlak's accession, to a proportion as low as 7:1; and, singular to say, these two scales, viz., 8:1 and 7:1, are those which most consistently fall in with and explain the figures in the subjoined table, and lead to the preferential conclusion that at the moment of revision the old rate of 8:1 had sunk to 7:1, and had been provided for accordingly. It is not necessary to define *when* this change came about; it is sufficient to say that the fact was officially recognized on the occasion of the reconstruction and remodeling of the coinage undertaken in 725 A.H.

TABLE OF EXCHANGE RATES OF GOLD AND SILVER COIN IN INDIA.

*Conflicting Scale, on the Accession of Muhammad bin Tughlak*

| GOLD                | SILVER.                                      |                  |
|---------------------|----------------------------------------------|------------------|
| 7:1—175 × 7=1225=   | { 7 old silver pieces                        | { 7×175=1225)    |
|                     | 9 new   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,    | { 9×140=1260)    |
| 8:1—175 × 8=1400=   | { 8 old   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,      | { 8×175=1400)    |
|                     | 10 new   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   | { 10×140=1400)   |
| 10:1—175 × 10=1750= | { 10 old   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,     | { 10×175=1750)   |
|                     | 12 5 new   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   , | { 12 5×140=1750) |
| 12:1—175 × 12=2100= | { 12 old   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,     | { 12×175=2100)   |
|                     | 15 new   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   | { 15×140=2100)   |
| 14:1—175 × 14=2450= | { 14 old   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,     | { 14×175=2450)   |
|                     | 17 5 new   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   , | { 17 5×140=2450) |

\* *Revised Scale, introduced to meet the fall in gold*

|                     |                                            |                    |
|---------------------|--------------------------------------------|--------------------|
| 7:1—200 × 7=1400=   | { 8 old silver pieces                      | { 8×175=1400)      |
|                     | 10 new   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   , | { 10×140=1400)     |
| 8:1—200 × 8=1600=   | { 9 old   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,    | { 9×175=1575)      |
|                     | 11 new   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   ,   , | { 11×140=1540)     |
| 10:1—200 × 10=2000= | { 11 429 old   ,   ,   ,   ,               | { 11 429×175=2000) |
|                     | 14 285 new   ,   ,   ,   ,                 | { 14 285×140=2000) |
| 12:1—200 × 12=2400= | { 13 714 old   ,   ,   ,   ,               | { 13 714×175=2400) |
|                     | 17 14 new   ,   ,   ,   ,                  | { 17 14×140=2400)  |
| 14:1—200 × 14=2800= | { 16 old   ,   ,   ,   ,                   | { 16×175=2800)     |
|                     | 20 new   ,   ,   ,   ,                     | { 20×140=2800)     |

quence of the great influx of gold the relative value of that metal has fallen greatly, say to something like seven to one, which as a local result where great treasure in gold had suddenly poured in, is, I suppose, conceivable. He issues a

On previous occasions, where I have sought to discover, from the internal evidence of the coins themselves, the object proposed in the changes they bore testimony to, I was misled by the supposition that the 140 grain silver piece was an innovation of Muhammad bin Tughlak's own conception, devised and given effect to simultaneously with the production of the novel 200 grain gold *dindr*. I now see from the passage in the *Khazâin ul Futûh*, quoted at page 247, that this coin was the invention of Alâ-ud-dîn Muhammad Shâh (No. 14 of the general list), designed apparently to aid the general scheme of reduction of the pay of the troops.<sup>1</sup> Whether any partial or complete mintage of such money ever took place, we need not stop to inquire; but the act of recognizing the existence of such a theoretical measure of value at once reduces the absolute innovations of Muhammad bin Tughlak to the single item of the new gold piece, and leaves us the more simple task of detecting the motive of a single modification, instead of entering upon the complications of a double variation in the leading representatives of gold and silver coin. At the rate of 8:1, as will be seen from the figures given above, *eight* old silver *tankahs* and *ten*

coinage which shall apply to this new ratio, and yet preserve the relation of the pieces as ten to one. This accounts for his 200 grain gold and 140 grain silver pieces. Some years later, after the disastrous result of his copper tokens, the value of gold has risen, and he reverts to the old standard of 175 grains, leaving (as far as I can gather) the silver piece at its reduced weight. At the exchange of ten silver pieces for one of gold, this now represents a relative value of eight to one"—*Cathay and the Way thither*, p. ccl.

<sup>1</sup> "Alâ-ud-dîn . . . apprehensive of another invasion of the Moghuls, he increased his forces so greatly, that upon calculating the expense, he found his revenues, and what treasures he had himself amassed, could not support them above six years. In this dilemma he resolved to reduce the pay of the army, but proportionably, the price of horses, arms, and provision."—Briggs's *Fenshtah*, 1 353

new 'adahs went to the old gold *tankah*, in the variation of the rate from 8 1 to 7 1, a corresponding reduction had either to be made in the number of silver pieces, as the received equivalents of the existing gold piece, or a new gold piece had to be produced which should leave the old numerical rates of silver coins untouched, and this is exactly what the 200 grain *dinar* accomplishes eight old silver *tankahs* and ten new 'adahs constitute the change for the new *dinar*. As has been shown above (coin, No 173), this description of piece was continued in a different form, though eventually the gold coinage reverted to the ancient standard of weight, or 175 grains. A momentary attempt was also made to revert to the old silver *tankah* in 734 A.D., but this movement does not seem to have been sustained, and thus it would appear that the 140 grain silver coins continued to hold the position of the largest silver piece supplied by the mint, and it is to these pieces we must understand the African authorities refer when they fix the rate of 10 *dirhams* to 1 gold 175 grain *tankah*, which brings us back to the previous 8 1, a rate which would be readily restored without State interference by the limitation of the supply of gold, its inevitable absorption by the masses, and the importation of silver from proximate lands, which the anomalously high rate would be sure to encourage. It would seem from the way in which Ibn Batutah reserves the name of *tankah* for the gold coins alone that no full weight silver *tankahs* whatever were in the course of issue from the mints at the period of his residence in India, and the very curious combination of the term of دیار درهم might almost be taken to point to the *dirhams*, which were associated in the public mind with the introduction of the prefixed Arabic name, which had been made special to the new gold coin, in supercession of the indigenous

denominations hitherto in use. So also the passage from the *Masálik al Absár* already quoted (p. 228), speaks of "dinars courants" of six *dirhams* [*haṣḥanis*], and eight millions of "dinars courants ou 48 millions de *dirhams*". These are clearly 140 grain coins, following on with the conventional حائز "current," and شرعى "legal," of Nos. 201, 202, and the distinction is further marked in the same work in the General Table of Coins, which follow the old system, and expressly designates the silver piece of 8 *dirhams hashthani*, as "le *tankah d'argent*"<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On further consideration, I have decided to reproduce the original text in its entirety, from M. Quatremère's article, in order that there may be no misapprehension as to the sources of my knowledge or the accuracy of the interpretation I put upon the data supplied — "Suivant ce que m'a raconte le scheikh Moubarak, le *lac rouge* اللَّكُ الْأَحْمَرُ contient 100 000 *tankah* (d'or) et le *lac blanc* 100 000 *tankah* (d'argent). Le *tankah* d'or,appele dans ce pays *tankah rouge* السَّكَّةُ الْأَحْمَرُ, équivaut a trois *mishtkals*, et le *tankah* d'argent تَكَهُ الْأَحْمَرُ وَهِيَ تَكَهُ الْعَصَّةُ comprend huit *dirhems heschtkani*. Le *dirhem heschtkani* a le même poids que le *dirhem d'argent* الدرَّهَمُ الْأَقْرَبُ, qui a cours en Egypte et en Syrie. La valeur de l'une et l'autre pièce est la même, et ne diffère presque en rien. Le *dirhem heschtkani* répond à quatre *dirhems Sultanis*, autrement nommés *doukanis* الدَّكَانِيَّةُ [do kāni, No. 206]. Le *dirhem Sultanis* vaut le tiers d'un *dirhem schachkani* شَشْكَانِيَّ (je lis سَسْكَانِيَّ pièce de air), qui est une troisième espèce de monnaie d'argent qui a cours dans l'Inde, et qui équivaut aux trois quarts du *dirhem heschtkani*. Une pièce, qui est la moitié du *dirhem Sultanis*, se nomme *yekani* يَكَانِي (pièce d'un), et vaut un *dital* دَيْتَل [No. 207]. Un autre *dirhem*, appelle *douardekkanis* (pièce de douze), a cours pour un *heschtkani* et demi. Une autre pièce appelle *schanszdekanis* سَانْدَكَانِي, correspond à deux *dirhems*. Ainsi les monnaies d'argent, en usage dans l'Inde, sont au nombre de six, savoir le *dirhem schachdekanis*, le *doua dekanis*, le *heschtkani*, le *schachkani*, le *sultani*, et le *yekani* يَكَانِي. La moindre de ces pièces est le *dirhem sultani*. Ces trois espèces de *dirhems* ont cours dans le commerce, et sont reçues universellement mais aucune n'est d'un usage plus général que le *dirhem sultani*, qui équivaut à un quart de *dirhem*, monnaie d'Egypte et de

## MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLAK'S FORCED CURRENCY.

Towards the close of the thirteenth century of our era, and during the succeeding forty years, no less than three Asiatic potentates essayed to enrich their treasuries by the issue of representative currencies. Kublai Khan, the Moghul conqueror of China, so far introduced the device, that he expanded and systematized the use of paper notes, which had very early developed itself in that empire;<sup>1</sup> so that circumstances were eminently propitious for the experiment, both in the precedent, the instincts of the people, and the absence of coined money in gold or silver. The latter item alone constituted, in itself, a most important element in the immediate success of the measure, as no vulgar prejudice had to be offended by the withdrawal or supercession of current money of positive intrinsic value; and the very introduction of a paper currency of graduated denominations, bearing the stamp of so powerful a monarch, aided materially in the development of commercial intercourse among the people at large.<sup>2</sup>

Syne Le dirhem *sultani* vaut huit fels (oboles), le *dital* حُصْل (jital), quatre fels, et le dirhem *heschtlani*, qui correspond parfaitement au dirhem d'argent d'Egypte et de Syrie, vaut trente-deux fels. Le *rill* (roti) de l'Inde, qui porte le nom de *sir* سِر, pèse 70 mithkals, qui estimés en dirhems d'Egypte, en valent 102<sup>3</sup>. Quarante *sir* forment un *mann* مَنْ وَاحِدٌ. On ne connaît pas dans l'Inde la méthode de mesurer les grains"—*Notices et Extraits*, xiii 211

<sup>1</sup> The introduction dates from 119 B.C. H. Parkes, J.R.A.S. xiii 179. P. Chabot, quoted in Marvden, p. 257, note 677.

<sup>2</sup> The following is Marco Polo's account of the paper currency of Kublai Khan "In this city of Kanbalu is the mint of the grand Khan, who may truly be said to possess the secret of the alchemists, as he has the art of producing money by the following process — He causes the bark to be stripped from those mulberry-trees, the leaves of which are used for feeding silkworms, and takes from it that thin inner rind which lies between the coarser bark and the wood of the tree. This being steeped, and afterwards pounded in a mortar, until reduced to a pulp, is made into paper, resembling (in substance) that which is manufactured from

Very different were the terms Kai Khátú proposed to inflict upon his subjects in Persia: his motive was obviously evil, and the surroundings inauspicious under almost every aspect. Many of the clauses of the *Tabriz Tchao* edict of A.H. 693 (A.D. 1294) followed the Chinese system; but instead of

cotton, but quite black. When ready for use, he has it cut into pieces of money of different sizes, nearly square, but somewhat longer than they are wide. Of these, the smallest pass for a denier tournois, the next for a Venetian silver groat, others for two, five and ten groats, others for one, two, three, and as far as ten besants of gold. The coinage of this paper money is authenticated with as much form and ceremony as if it were actually of pure gold or silver, for to each note a number of officers, specially appointed, not only subscribe their names, but affix their signets also, and when this has been regularly done by the whole of them, the principal officer, deputed by his Majesty, having dipped into vermilion the royal seal, committed to his custody, stamps with it the piece of paper, so that the form of the seal, tinged with vermilion, remains impressed upon it, by which it receives full authenticity as current money, and the act of counterfeiting it is punished as a capital offence. When thus coined in large quantities, this paper currency is circulated in every part of the grand Khán's dominions, nor dare any person, at the peril of his life, refuse to accept it in payment. All his subjects receive it without hesitation, because, wherever their business may call them, they can dispose of it again in the purchase of merchandise they may have occasion for, such as pearls, jewels, gold or silver. With it in short, every article can be procured.

When any persons happen to be possessed of paper money which from long use has become damaged, they carry it to the mint, where, upon the payment of only 3 per cent, they may receive fresh notes in exchange. Should any be desirous of procuring gold or silver for the purposes of manufacture, such as drinking cups, girdles, or other articles wrought of these metals, they in like manner apply at the mint, and for their paper obtain the bullion they require. All his Majesty's armies are paid with this currency which is to them of the same value as if it were gold or silver" —Marsden, cap. xviii.

Among other substitutes for money, Marco Polo notices the use of coral in Tibet. He says "These people use no coined money, nor even the paper money of the grand Khán, but for their currency employ coral." The money or currency they make use of (in Kain du) is thus prepared. Their gold is formed into small rods, and passes according to its weight, without any stamp. This is their greater money, the smaller is salt cakes, on which the stamp of the grand Khán is impressed, 80 of the cakes are made to pass for a saggio of gold. In Karavia they employ for money the white porcelain shell found in the sea, 80 of these shells equal in value 1 saggio of silver.

Ibn Batutah's testimony to the success of Kublai's paper currency is as follows:

bringing a benefit, in disguise, it was manifestly fraudulent in its inception, associated with tyranny and oppression in the enforcement of its provisions; so much so, that Ghazán Khán, the nephew of the reigning monarch, refused to admit the fictitious money within the limits of his government of Khorásán. 'And the measure, upheld with much difficulty

"Les habitants de la Chine n'emploient dans leurs transactions commerciales ni pièces d'or ni pièces d'argent. Toutes celles qui arrivent dans ce pays sont fondues en lingots, comme nous venons de le dire. Ils vendent et ils achètent au moyen de morceaux de papier, dont chacun est aussi large que la paume de la main, et porte la marque ou le sceau du Sultan. Vingt cinq de ces billets sont appelés *balicht* (باليخت), ce qui revient au sens du mot dinár, ou de pièces d'or chez nous (Ibn Batutah expressly mentions that there is no charge for renewal of the worn paper). Si un individu se rend au marché avec une pièce d'argent, ou bien avec une pièce d'or, dans le dessein d'acheter quelque chose, on ne la lui prend pas, et l'on ne fait aucune attention à lui, jusqu'à ce qu'il l'ait changée contre le bâlicht ou les billets avec lesquels il pourra acheter ce qu'il désirera"—Ibn Batutah, Paris edit. IV 259 (About 1345 A.D.) See also Not et Extr. xii. 222

Du Halde, in his great work upon China, has given an engraving of one of the notes of *Hong tsou* (*Tai tsou*) (A.D. 1366), the founder of the twenty first or Ming dynasty, and adds, "these sheets are much sought after by those that build, who hang them up as a rarity on the chief beam of the house, which, according to vulgar notion, preserves the house from all misfortunes" (English edition, London, 1741, vol. II p. 293.)

Colonel H. Yule has succeeded in obtaining a specimen of the early Ming dynasty's paper currency, which has the peculiarity of being "nearly black," as described by Marco Polo. Antiquarians await, with much interest, Col. Yule's account of this fragment of Eastern life, which is to appear in his forthcoming edition of the *Travels of Marco Polo*.

The inscriptions on the sides of the *Hong you* note are given in a translated form by Du Halde as follows:

"1. The Court of the Treasury having presented their petition, it is decreed that the paper money thus marked with the Imperial seal of Ming shall pass current, and be put to the same use as copper coin. Those who counterfeit it shall be beheaded."

"2. He who shall inform against and secure them [the forgers] shall have a reward of 250 taels. Besides, he shall receive the goods of the criminal, as well immovable as movable. Dated such a year, month, and day, of the reign of *Hong you*."

during the space of two months, contributed indirectly to the loss of Kai Khátú's throne, and the bowstring avenged his people's wrongs little more than six months after the first proclamation of this notable financial operation.<sup>1</sup>

Khai Khátú's scheme for a paper currency was designed, not to aid the existing circulation, but to suppress and supersede altogether the use of gold and silver money, as well as to prevent the employment of those metals in manufactures, the object being that all the precious metals in the land might

<sup>1</sup> D Ohsson, iv 101, Malcolm's Persia, i 430, De Guignes, Book xvii. 267, Langlés, Memr de l'Institute, iv 115, Price's Mahomedan History, ii. 596, De Saulcy, Journal Asiatique, 1842, Prof E B Cowell, J A S Bengal, 1860, p 187

<sup>2</sup> The following is a description of the form and legends of the notes

هیات و صورت چاو ندین متواں بود پیرامن سطح کاعد پاره مرتع  
مستطیل چند کلمه بخط خطایی که مخف خطا این بود بوشه و  
زیلای آن از دو طرف 'الله الا الله' 'محمد رسول الله' سیکه نقد و  
واسطه فراید عقد و طعراً صحیفه منشور و متم تمایم آن نخور ساخته  
و در ترا اان

### ایرینچین تورچی

تحریر کرد، و در میانه داره کشیده خارج از مرکز صواب واریم  
درهم تا ده دینار رقم زده و بشیوه سُطور در قلم آورده که پادشاه جهان  
کیخاتو خان در تاریخ سه ثلث و تسعین و ستمایه این چاو مسارترا  
در ممالک روانه کردانید، تغیر و تبدیل کسده را با زن و فرد ساسا

رسایده مال اورا محبت دیوان بردارد

be monopolized by the ruling power. The execution of the decree necessarily fell with immediate severity on the every-day transactions of life, and was felt more especially in the matter of provisions, which, like all other goods, were not allowed to be paid for in coin, and as the dealers objected to the new substitute for cash, they adopted the simple alternative of closing their shops, and produced absolute famine in the metropolis, while plenty reigned in the districts around. No wonder, then, that the starved citizens of Tabriz rose up as one man and wreaked their vengeance upon the subordinate whom they deemed the author of their woes, while the Sultán was left to discover from the empty streets that all was not well with his capital.

Far other motives seem to have actuated Muhammad bin Tughlak's trial of a forced currency. Of course, the introduction of so sweeping a measure as making the king's brass equivalent to other men's silver, admits of scant defence among civilized nations. Fakhr-ud dín Júná, as the Sultán was called before his accession to the throne, was not innately a vicious man, though absolute beyond the ordinary range of Eastern despots, and whose severities, not to say cruelties, would have emptied many another throne he ruled for twenty seven years, or nearly as long as the combined reigns of his six predecessors, and died in his bed at last, a mercy that was only doubtfully extended to one of the six monarchs in question. His leading eccentricities are described as profusion and want of mercy,<sup>1</sup> the first took the form of Oriental

<sup>1</sup> Here is Ibn Batutah's estimate of the Sultán whom he served " Mohammed est de tous les hommes celui qui aime davantage à faire des cadeaux et aussi à repandre le sang (عَنْ فَتْرَيْعَى أَوْ حَىْ يَقْلَى) Sa porte voit toujours près d'elle quelque falir qui devient riche, ou quelque être vivant qui est mis à mort. Ses traits de générosité et de bravoure, et ses exemples de cruautés et de violence

liberality, in regal gifts, rather than in mere ostentatious display or reckless personal extravagance; the second was perchance, incident to the disregard of human life prevailing around him, and his own avowed conviction of its necessity. Of avarice, however, no one has accused him, he may well have heard of the success of the paper currency in China, equally as he may have learnt the fate the similar but less effectively concerted device had met with in Persia; nevertheless he may have felt and justly conceived that he was strong enough to try the experiment, and he withdrew from it frankly when it proved a failure. Severe to the extreme in his punishments, and, doubtless, ready to enforce the penalties said to have been specified in the original proclamation,<sup>1</sup> no threat of vengeance is recorded on the forced currency, as had been the case with the Chinese and Persian notes. The legends on the brass tokens consist

envers les coupables ont obtenu de la célébrité parmi le peuple. Malgré cela, il est le plus humble des hommes et celui qui montre le plus d'équité, les cérémonies de la religion sont observées à sa cour, il est très sévère en ce qui regarde la prière et la châtiment qui suit son inexcution. Il est au nombre des rois dont la félicité est grande, et dont les heureux succès dépassent ce qui est ordinaire, mais sa qualité dominante, c'est la générosité' —Ibn Battutah, in. 215

The Shaikh Mubarak bin Mahmud *Anbati*, who also visited Muhammad b. Tughlak's Court, is equally warm in his praises of the generosity, humility, and accomplishments of the Sultan, but does not allude to his cruelties — *Masalik al Absdr*, in *Notices et Extraits*, xii. pp 190, 191. See also another witness pp 187, 207, etc.

<sup>1</sup> I do not reproduce the minor details of this operation as variously recorded in the versions of the Indian historians. In the mere order of priority of publication, I may refer the reader to Dow, 1 p 302, Briggs, 1 p 414, who translate Ferishta's text. An English rendering of the Persian text of the *Tabakat-i Akbari* is to be found in my first edition of the *Pathan Sultans*, p 56. The original Persian passage from Zia Barni is given in my Supplement (Delhi, 1861 p 19, and *Num. Chron.* iv p 140), and the text of that author has since been published in extenso in Calcutta (1862), and freely translated by Prof Dowson Elliot's *Historians* vol iii p 240. See also Elphinstone's *India*, p 405, and *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1860, p 193.

either of an appeal to the religious devotion of one section of his subjects, or of an official intimation of legal equivalents to guide the mercantile classes: in no instance were these representatives of real money issued to pass for the more valuable current gold pieces; the highest coin he desired credit for, in virtue of the regal stamp, was a Tankah of 140 grains of silver, and the minor subdivisions were elaborately provided for in detail. No interference whatever seems to have been contemplated with the existing circulating media, and the proportion of the new coinage absolutely uttered, large as it was, must have been infinitesimal, in reference either to the income of the Sovereign or the fabulous wealth of the kingdom over which he held sway.<sup>1</sup> With every material element of success, this carefully organized measure was doomed to failure, from an altogether unforeseen cause. His Majesty's officers of the mint worked with precisely the same tools as the ordinary workman, and operated upon a metal, so to say, universally available. There was no special machinery to mark the difference of the fabric of the Royal Mint and the handy-work of the moderately skilled artisan.<sup>2</sup> Unlike the precautions taken to prevent

<sup>1</sup> *Mubarak Anbat* gives an illustration of the wealth of the land, in the incident of the confiscation of a sum of 437,000,000 *miskals* of gold from one offender, "an incalculable mass of gold"—*Not et Ext* xiii 194. See also p 173, the old story of the discovery of 40 *bahars* of gold, each *bahar* weighing 333 mans

<sup>2</sup> *Zia Barni* says—  
در هر خانه ارخانی هندوان دارالصریف پیدا ممدد—  
و هندوان بلاد ممالک کروها و لکها از میرمس ضرف کنایدند  
Calcutta text, 475

T. Mubarak Shah—  
هدوان و مفسدان مواسات و موالات علانية در—  
هر دیبی دارالصرف ساختند و میرمس میزند  
در جا هر جا در مواقع خویش دارالصرف پیدا کرده در—  
فلوس مس سکه میزند

the imitation of the Chinese paper notes, there was positively no check upon the authenticity of the copper token, and no limit to the power of production by the masses at large.<sup>1</sup> Under such circumstances it is only strange that the new currency should have run so long a course as the three consecutive years (or one full year with portions of the first and last), the record of which we find on their surfaces. As has been already stated, when there remained no question as to the failure of the scheme, Muhammad bin Tughlak, unwillingly, perhaps, but honestly, attempted to meet the difficulty, by authorizing the reception of the copper tokens at the treasury and their exchange for full money equivalents. No scrutiny, had such been effectively practicable, was enjoined against illicit fabrications; and the sums actually exchanged may be estimated by the mounds upon mounds of brass coins, which were heaped up as mere rubbish in the Fort of Tughlakáhád (Dehli), where they were still to be seen a century later, in the reign of Mubárik Sháh II.<sup>2</sup> It is clear that, if good money was paid for all these tokens, Muhammad bin Tughlak's temporary loan, extracted from his own subjects, must have been repaid at a more than

<sup>1</sup> The Chinese evidently felt and anticipated some such result, and so avoided the evil here experienced. "It is easy to judge that there would be debasers of money in China, if the silver was coined as well as copper, since their small pieces of copper are so often counterfeited by the Chinese. Those who follow this trade mark the counterfeit coin with the same characters as are seen upon the true, but the metal they use is of a baser sort, and the weight not so good. If they happen to be discovered the crime is capital"—Du Halde, English edt 1741, n 293.

وَأَنْ مِبْرَسْ مَرْدُونْ شَدْ تَأْعِيْتْ دَرْ كُوشْكْ تَعْلَقَادْ چَوْنْ

شَبَّاْ مَانَدَهْ بَوْنْ • MS Tárikh Mubárik Sháhi.

So also, more explicitly, the Tárikh Budáomi adds—

وَأَحْرَسْ مَسْ وَنَقَرَهْ بَوْنْ وَآنْ سَكَهَ هَائِيْ مَسْ بَشْتَهْ بَشْتَهْ

Oriental rate of interest, though possibly, in very many instances, compensation reached parties but little entitled to it

I will now proceed to recapitulate, in brief detail, the more prominent and instructive specimens of Muhammad bin Tugh lak's forced currency still extant. It will be seen that ordinarily the values attaching to the several gradational coins are specified on their surfaces, but in many cases the equivalents of the current money have to be discovered from the approximation to the old standards, in form or weight, given to the representative brass tokens. We have, in distinct terms, the 50 *kan*: piece, the half, the quarter, as well as the 8 *lāni* and 2 *lāni* pieces, and a correspondent of the 175 grain *tankah* might possibly be discovered in the brass money designated as تکہ رائج "current Tankah" (No 195), but I prefer to look upon these pieces as provided to supply the places of the modified *'adali* of 140 grains (No 180),<sup>1</sup> with which they are identical in weight, and

تا رمان مسارکشاد نقول صاحب تاریخ مسارکشادی مایدہ در تعلی

اناد حکم سکت داشت Calcutta text p 229

Zia Barni's account of the original incoming of the brass tokens is even more graphic

و بدل آن مهر تکه رو و نقره و شش گانی و دو گانی در حاره برده  
و چدان تکه مس در حاره در آمد که تودها از تکه مس مثل

کوکها در تعلی اناد برآمده است Calcutta text, p 476

<sup>1</sup> The *adali* as a definite coin, first makes its appearance under Muhammad bin Tughlaq, but it would seem from the following passage that its introduction was due to Alâ ud-din Muhammad Shah —

ایک ایں سست رحتست و فماش و امسعہ و اقمشہ کہ سخت

to have been intended to pass at the same rate as the more definitely marked 50 *kāni* pieces of similar fabric. Nos. 197 and 198 may, perchance, have been designed for 10 *kāni* pieces (as 110 50 112 10) and No. 200 approximates in weight, under a similarly graduated scale of proportions, to a 20 *kāni* piece or the 32 *rati jurrana* of 56 grains, already adverted to at pp. 163 167, and regarding which further comparisons will be found at page 221, *et seq.*

The use of the term *dirham* on Nos. 202, 203, is more difficult to explain. The word is new among the Delhi mintages, though as will be seen hereafter, it must have been common enough in the vernacular speech of the country. Were it not that there is an expressly designated "Hasht kāni," it would be reasonable to suppose that these were the *dirhams* spoken of by Ibn Batutah and Sheikh Mubarak, as reckoning eight to the old *tankah*, but as the latter coin was also in these times indifferently called a *dirham*, it is possible, in spite of the defective weight, which, however, was altogether disregarded in other cases, that these pieces may have been authoritative correspondents, in a different form, of the *adali* or 140 grain *tankah*.

اسعداد سپاہی شاد و سادی مباد در علم آید ار سستان و در مسنه  
و پشمی و چرمی و روئی و آئیه سکتہ و عد ساخته و مساداشہ  
ماہر کہ دست دلی مسداد و سمت عدل کالا می حرید

Marginal note by Delhi commentator—  
عدلی سکہ دست

—MS. Tārikh-i-Alā'i of Mir Khusru

No. 195 (pl. iv. fig. 96). Brass. Weight, 136 grs.  
Daulatábád, A.H. 730. Dehli (نخت گاہ), 731, 732.

من اطاع

میر شد تنگه

السلطان

رائج در روزگار

فقد اطاع

بندہ امیدوار

الرحمن

محمد تغلق

He who obeys the Sultán,  
truly, he obeys God.

Sealed as a *Tankah* current  
in the reign of the slave, hope-  
ful (of mercy),

Muhammad Tughlak.

Margin—در نخت گاہ

دولت اباد سال بر هفتاد سی

At the seat of royalty, Daula-  
tábád, in the year 730.

من اطاع

میرشد تنگه

السلطان

پنجاد کانی در روزگار

فقد اطاع

بندہ امیدواره

الرحمن

محمد تغلق

Area. He who obeys the  
Sultán, truly, he obeys  
God.

Sealed as a *Tankah* of fifty  
Kánis during the reign of the  
slave, hopeful (of mercy),

Muhammad Tughlak.

Margin—در نخت گاہ

دولت اباد سال بر سی یک

At the seat of royalty, Daula-  
tábád, in the year (7)31.



No 197 (pl iv fig 100) Brass Weight, 112 grs  
A.H. 730, 731

|          |         |
|----------|---------|
| فعد اطاع | من اطاع |
| الرحم    | السلطان |
| تعلق     | محمد    |

Truly, he obeys God  
Tughlak

He who obeys the Sultan,  
Muhammad, 730

No 198 (pl vi fig 101) Brass Weight, 112 grs

|                 |                  |
|-----------------|------------------|
| لا يأوا للسلطان | اطيعوا الله      |
| كل الناس        | واطيعوا الرسول   |
| معهم عصا        | وأولى الامر مسكم |
| تعلق            | محمد             |

Sovereignty is not conferred  
upon every man, (but) some  
(are placed over) others<sup>1</sup>

Tughlak

Obey God, and obey the  
Prophet, and those in authority  
among you

Muhammad, 730

No 199 Brass Weight, 70 grs A.H. 730

|         |        |
|---------|--------|
| محمد بن | صرب    |
| تعلق    | الربعى |

Muhammad bin Tughlak

Struck as a fourth (quarter  
'adali), 730

<sup>1</sup> Koran, Surah iv, verse 62

No 200 Brass Weight, 55 grs A.H. 730  
(See Marsden, No DCCXV p 535)

|              |                                      |
|--------------|--------------------------------------|
| عَمَد        | حَسَنٌ                               |
| مُحَمَّد بْن | رَبِّي                               |
| تَعْلِقٌ     | Sufficientia mea Dominus est         |
| Kurān in 167 | حَسَنُ اللَّهُ وَتَعَمَّ الْوَكْلَنْ |

Fræhn (Recensio, p 115) has an example of a coin of Nuh bin Mansur, struck at Bokhara, in A.H. 376, with حَسَنٌ on the top of the area

No 201 (pl. iv fig 104) Brass Weight, 72 grs Rare

|                   |                                                                                      |
|-------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Centre—مُحَمَّد   | تَسْكِينَة رَبِّرَة                                                                  |
| تَعْلِقٌ          | حَائِرَ دَرِّ عَد                                                                    |
| Margin—શ્રી સોહમદ | سَدَدَ اَمْسَدَوَار                                                                  |
| Shri Mohamad      | مُحَمَّد تَعْلِقٌ                                                                    |
|                   | Money Tankah current in the<br>reign of the slave hopeful (etc.)<br>Muhammad Tughlak |

No 202 (pl. iv fig 105) Weight, 80 grs Stacey collection  
Unpublished Daulatabād, A.H. 730 Dehli (حَصَرَة) A.H. 730,  
732 Dehli (دارالْمَلْك) A.H. 730 (دارالإِسْلَام) A.H. 730

|                   |                      |
|-------------------|----------------------|
| سَدَارَالإِسْلَام | صَرْبُ الدِّرْهَم    |
| فِي سَهْ ثَلَاثَ  | الشَّرِيفِيِّ رَبِّس |
| وَسَعْمَاءِ       | الْعَدْ مُحَمَّد بْن |

At the seat of Islam, in the  
year, 730

Struck as a lawful dirham in  
the time of the slave, Mu  
hammad bin Tughlak

No 203 حصره دهلي, A.H. 730, 732 (No less than three selected specimens of these latter mintages exactly touch the 80 grains)

No 204 Copper Weight, 103 grs Unique Daulatabad, A.H. 730  
Nasfi

محمد بن سعى

سبب هد

حصاره دولت اباد

الصفى في روس

سه ثلث و سعماه

العد الرحى



رحمة الله

Muhammad bin Tughlak, at the capital, Daulatabad, year 730

This half piece (was) struck during the time of the slave, trusting in the mercy of God

No 205 Brass Weight, 53 grs Rare Hashkani

محمد

شندل

تعليق

هشت کانے

No 206 Variety Weight, 25 grs Rare Dokani

محمد

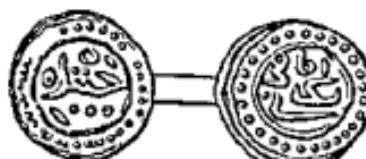
سکه

تعليق

دوکانے



No 207 Copper Weight, 74 grs Gen Cunningham Unique



محمل

امانی

A. Jaitil

یکانے

The equivalent of one *lasi*

No 208 (pl. iv fig. 107) Copper Weight, 53 grs A.H. 732

Centre—محمد تعلق

الملك

Margin—سال بر هفتاد سی دو—

والعزة لله

In the year 732.

Dominion and glory are of God

There are very few specimens of the exclusively copper coins of Muhammad bin Tughlak, the copper currency proper seems to have been confined to the three examples quoted below (Nos 209, 210, 211), but in many cases dies intended for the small silver coins, and the less marked and declaratory legends of the forced currency, seem to have been employed to stamp copper, which, in the fullness of its weight, carried its own value in the market, irrespective of any especial superscription.

No 209 Copper Weight, 68 grs

Obverse—السلطان طل الله The Sultan, shadow of God

Reverse—محمد بن تعلق شاد—Muhammad bin Tughlak Shah

No 210 Copper Weight, 53 grs Col Stacey A.H. 730

Obverse—الواشق بعمر الله ٧٣٠

Reverse—محمد بن تعلق شاد—

No 211 Copper Weight, 54 grs Rare<sup>1</sup>

Obverse—محمد

Reverse—تعلق شاد

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Batutah has preserved a curious record of the legends inscribed upon the coinage of the *Sherif* Jalal ud din Ahsan Shah, commandant in Malabar (مسعر) who threw off his allegiance to Muhammad bin Tughlak, and issued money bearing his own name in 742 A.H.

و صرب الدناس و الدرام و كان يكتبه في احدى صحفتي

We have seen with what Numismatic honours Altamsh welcomed the sanctification of his new kingdom of the East by the reigning Khalif of Baghdád in 626 A.H. Within thirty years of that date the office of the chief Pontiff of the Muslim world was destined to be extinguished in the person of Mustansír's successor, the unhappy Must'asim, who was so cruelly put to death by Hulákú-Khán, on the capture of the city of the Faith, in 656 A.H. With all the Barbarian superstition that hesitated to shed what was esteemed sacred blood, the conqueror did not scruple to crush into one unseemly mass the bones of his victim,<sup>1</sup> coincidentally with the surrender of the inoffensive inhabitants of the favoured city, estimated at 800,000 persons, to the wanton slaughter of the Mughal troops. While the throne of the Khalifs became but an idle symbol, and the centre of Islám was converted into a ghastly camp of Nomads, the latest Muhammadan conquest "in partibus infidelium" must have been singularly

الديار سلالة طه و نس ابو الفرقان و المساكين حلال الدنيا و الدين و  
في الصفحة الاخرى الواثق تابيد الرحمن احسن شاه السلطان

Et frappa en son propre nom des monnaies d'or et d'argent. Sur un des cotés des dinárs il avait grava les mots suivants. Le progeniture de *Thd-hd* et *I'd-sin* (ces lettres, qui constituent les titres de deux chapitres du Korán, le xx<sup>e</sup> et le xxxvi, sont du nombre des epithètes qu'on donne à Mahomet), le père des fakirs et des indigents, *Jellal ud dundí wa ud din*. Et sur l'autre face Celui qui met sa confiance dans le secours du Miséricordieux, *Ahsan Sháh Sultán* —Paris edition, m. 328 Ferishtah, 1 423

<sup>1</sup> The *Habib us Siyar* says, "The captives were wrapped up in coarse hair blankets, and in that state rolled backwards and forwards on the ground with such force and violence that every joint and articulation of their frames was either smashed or wrought asunder." —Price's Muhammadan History, II p. 222

Novairi, quoted by D'Ohson (m. 243), says they were tied up in sacks and trodden under foot by horses. One incident in the general extermination is remarkable, the Christians were unreservedly spared, the Nestorian Church constituted, without challenge, their city of refuge (m. 339, 241). —Abul Faraj, 339

ignorant of, or strangely indifferent to, the events that affected their newly-conceded allegiance, as the name of the martyred Muṣṭasim was retained on the Dehli coinage for some forty years after his death. Rukn-ud-dín Ibráhím, the twelfth king, is the first to discontinue the practice, when, after the murder of Firúz in the camp of 'Alá-ud-dín, the party in power at Dehli elevated the boy-king, they denominated his father ناصر امير المؤمنين, a title which Altamsh had affected in early days (see Inscriptions G and H, pp. 80 and 155 *supra*). 'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad Sháh assumed the designation of يمين الخلافة, Right hand of the Khalifat (coin No. 130, etc.; inscription O, p. 173); but Mubárik, more distinctly, calls himself Khalífah<sup>1</sup> (the most mighty Imám, Khalífah of the Lord of the two worlds); and his capital, *Dár ul Khiláfat*, "seat of the Khalífah;" and even goes so far as to adopt, in addition to the خليفة الله (Vicegerent of God), the spiritual title of *Al Wásik billah* (p. 181). The converted Hindu *Khusrú* likewise affects, in a subdued degree, the attributes of a leader of Islám, styling himself الراٰث خير الرحمن ولی امير المؤمنين "The relying upon the goodness of the All-merciful, successor<sup>2</sup> of the Commander of the Faithful." Ghiás-ud-dín Tughlak Sháh, with higher claims, seems to have been a much more humble Muhammadan, for he delights in such designations as "the Testifier," "the *Gházi*," "Champion of the Faith," etc. The son, Muhammad, is even more modest in his titles, but largely affects quotations from the Kurán. Later in his reign (741

<sup>1</sup> So also, in later days, Akbar introduced the new formula of ﷺ لا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللهُ وَالْأَكْبَرُ خليفة الله, "There is no god but God, and the Akbar is his Vicegerent."—Wilson's Works, ii. 391.

<sup>2</sup> The term ولی has an extended range of meanings. The reference here seems to be to Mubárik as Khalif.

A.H.) his religious sentiments asserted themselves more definitely, and scruples having arisen in his mind as to the imperfection of his own title to the sovereignty—unconfirmed as it was by sacerdotal sanction<sup>1</sup>—he sought to remedy this defect by soliciting the patent of the then representative of the line of the Abbassite Khalifs, whose immediate predecessors had so fallen from the ancient high estate as to accept a palace and a pension from the Sultán of Egypt. In anticipation of the receipt of such acknowledgment, Muhammad

<sup>1</sup> "When the Sultan returned to Dehlí, it occurred to his mind that no king or prince could exercise regal power without confirmation by the *Khalifah* of the race of 'Abbás, and that every king who had, or should hereafter reign, without such confirmation, had been, or would be, overpowered. The Sultan made diligent inquiries from many travellers about the *Khalifahs* of the line of 'Abbás, and he learned that the representatives of the line of 'Abbás were the *Khalifahs* of Egypt. So he and his ministers and advisers came to an understanding with the *Khalifah* that was in Egypt, and while the Sultan was at Sarg dwārī he sent despatches to him about many things. When he returned to the city he stopped the prayers of the Sabbath and the 'Ids. He had his own name and style removed from his coins, and that of the *Khalifah* substituted, and his flatteries of the *Khalifah* were so fulsome that they cannot be reduced to writing. In the year 744 A.H. (1343 A.D.), Hājī Sa'id Sarsari came to Dehlí, from Egypt, bringing to the Sultan honours and a robe from the *Khalifah*. The Sultan, with all his nobles and *sayyids* and . . ., went forth to meet the Hājī with great ceremony, . . . and he walked before him barefoot for the distance of some long bow-shots . . . From that date permission was given, that out of respect the *Khalifah's* name should be repeated in the prayers for Sabbaths and holydays, . . . and it was also ordered that in mentioning the names of the kings in the *khutba* they should be declared to have reigned under the authority and confirmation of the Abbassī *Khalifahs*. The names of those kings who had not received such confirmation were to be removed from the *khutba*, and the kings were to be declared to be superseded (*mutaghallab*) . . . The name of the *Khalifah* was ordered to be inscribed on lofty buildings, and no other name besides . . . The Sultan directed that a letter acknowledging his subordination to the *Khalifah* should be sent by the hands of Hājī Rajab Barkā'i, . . . and after two years of correspondence the Hājī returned from Egypt, bringing a diploma in the name of the Sultan, as deputy of the *Khalifah*"—Elliot's *Historians*, III 249, text, 491 Ibn Batutah, i 363, Fershtah, Briggs, i. 426

bin Tughlak discontinued the use of his own name on the coinage,<sup>1</sup> and supplanted it by that of *Al-mustalfi billah*; whose designation appears on the Indian coins minted in 741, 742, and 743 A.H.; while the later periods are marked by that of his son, *Al Hakim b'amr illah Abú al Abbás Ahmad*.

The following is a list of the earlier Egyptian Khalifs, taken from Abúl Faraj. There is a conflict of testimony as to the accuracy of the succession in some instances, and still more uncertainty in regard to the precise dates of accession, etc.<sup>2</sup> In short, their own obscurity extended to their history;<sup>3</sup> but as the authoritative names are the chief matter of

<sup>1</sup> This is a very odd phase of Muhammad bin Tughlak's progressive thought. So little occasion does there seem to have been, at the moment, for any such disturbing idea, as far as the associations of proximate kingdoms extended, that the Sultán had to examine all sorts of stray travellers to discover where a scion of the old house could be found, as Zíá Barní, a contemporary Indian biographer, says—

سلطان از سیار تنبع میکرد تا از سیار مسافران شید که خلیفه  
از آل عباس در مصر برخلافت ممکن است. Calcutta text, p 297.

Though all this feeling may well have arisen out of new and more advanced studies of his own religion, or descriptions by the Western visitors at his own Court of the bye gone glories of the supreme Pontiffs of the Muslim world, who had more or less swayed the destinies of the East for five centuries, and whose extermination was so intimately associated with one of India's perpetual grievances, the success of the Mughals, who were ever threatening the gates of Deblí. Later, in point of time, Muhammad bin Tughlak secured as a visitor at his own Court a scion of the line of Abbás, in the person of Ghíás ad-dín Muhammad, a son of a great-grandson of the Khalif of Baghdad, *Al Mustansír billah*, and he seems almost to have regretted his hasty adhesion to the Egyptian branch, for, after loading his guest with all manner of inconsistent honours, he naïvely confessed to him that had he not already pledged his faith to the African Khalif, he would have sworn allegiance to him; in short, have secured a submissive Khalif of his own—Ibn Batutah, in 258, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Abúl Faraj himself gives a great many optional statements from other authorities, while M. de Guignes' series differs very materially both in the order of succession and dates of events from the present list (Hist. des Huns 1. 332).

<sup>3</sup> Les Mameluks ou Sultans d'Egypte, qui avoient fait ces Khalifes ce qu'ils étoient en les reconnoissant pour tels, les faisoient et les défaisoient selon leur

importance in the present inquiry, I have not thought it necessary to sift in detail the mass of contradictory testimony under its local aspect.

### THE EGYPTIAN KHALIFS

1 المستنصر بالله ابوالقاسم احمد بن الطاهر بالله العاشر

Inaugurated 9th Rajab, 659 A.H.

2 الحاكم ناصر الله ابو العباس احمد

Inaugurated Zul hujjah, 660 A.H.

3 المستكفي بالله ابوالربيع سليمان ابن الحاكم ناصر الله

Inaugurated Jumáda'l awwal, 701 A.H.

4 الواثق بالله ابراهيم بن محمد المستمسك

Inaugurated 740 A.H.

5 الحاكم ناصر الله ابو العباس احمد بن المستكفي بالله

Proclaimed 741 A.H.

6 ابو الفتح المعتمد بالله ابو يكران المستكفي بالله

Proclaimed 753 A.H.

7 المتوكل على الله ابو عبد الله محمد بن المعتمد

Inaugurated Jumáda'l akhir, 763 A.H.

8 الواثق ابو حفص عمران المعتصم ابراهيم بن المستمسك

Inaugurated 785 A.H.

9 المعتصم بالله ابو يحيى زكريا ابن المعتصم ابراهيم

Inaugurated 788 A.H.

10 المتوكل (*restored*)

Inaugurated 791 A.H.

11 المستعين بالله ابو الفضل العباس بن المتوكل على الله

Inaugurated Sh'abán, 808 A.H.

bon plaisir . . . Mais nonobstant l'autorité que les Sultans d'Egypte exerçoient sur ces Khalifes, néanmoins les mêmes Sultans se servoient d'eux pour se faire confirmer et autoriser auprès les peuples," etc — D'Herbelot, *sub toce*, "Khalifah"

## Coins struck in the name of the Egyptian Khalifs

No 212 Gold Weight, 163.5 grs (A worn coin, with imperfectly executed legends) A second, 167 grs DEHLI, 741, 742, 743<sup>1</sup>

|                             |                        |
|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| فی رمان الامام المستکفی     | صریب هدا الدیسار       |
| بالله امر المؤمن ابو الربيع | الخلیفتی الدھلی فی شور |
| سلیمان حله اللہ حلاہ        | سہ احمدی اربعہ و سعماۃ |

Al Mustikfi Billah, *Abu al rabi'a Sulaiman*, Khalif of Egypt  
(No 3 of the above list), A.H. 701 to 740

No 213 (pl. in fig 86) Gold Weight, 170 (171.0, 169.4) grs

|             |                |
|-------------|----------------|
| الله ابو    | فی رمان الامام |
| العباس احمد | امر المؤمن     |
| حله ملکه    | الحاکم اامر    |

Al Hakim b'amr illah, Abu al Abbas, Ahmad, Khalif of Egypt  
(No 5 of the above list), A.H. 741 to 753

No 214 Silver Weight, 55 grs Rare A.H. 743

حلمه الله فی شور—  
Obverse

المستکفی بالله ۷۴۳—  
Reverse

No 215 (pl. in fig 109) Silver and copper Weight, 132 grs

No 215a Major Stubbs Weight, 138 grs Daulatabad, A.H. 744

الامام الاعظم حلمه الله فی العالمین ۷۴۴—  
Obverse

المسکفی بالله امر المؤمن—  
Reverse

صریب هده ال دویلہ ایاد سہ اربعہ و اربعہ و سعماۃ—  
Margr.

<sup>1</sup> See also Frehns Recensio, p. 177

No 216 Copper Weight 55 grs A.H. 742 743

Obverse—حلمه الله في شعور

Reverse—المستكفي بالله ۷۴۳

No 217 Copper A.H. 742

Obverse—الله الكافي في شور

Reverse—والحلمه المستكفي ۷۴۳

No 218 (pl. III fig. 110) Copper Weight, 128 grs

A.H. 748, 749, 750, 751

Obverse—الحاكم ناصر الله سنه ۷۴۸

Reverse—أبو العباس احمد

No 219 Brass Weight, 55 grs Rare A.H. 748

Similar legends

Having completed the description of the coins of Muhammed bin Tughlak, I append a list of the prices of common articles at Dehli, towards the end of his reign, furnished to the author of the *Masálik al Absár* by his Egyptian informants —

|                             |    |           |                      |
|-----------------------------|----|-----------|----------------------|
| Wheat                       | 1½ | hashkhan; | the man              |
| Barley                      | 1  | "         | "                    |
| Common Rice                 | 1½ | "         | "                    |
| Peas (حمص).                 | ½  | "         | "                    |
| Sugar                       | 1  | hashkhan; | for five surs        |
| Sugar Candy (السات)         | 1  | "         | four "               |
| Tat Sheep superior quality, | 1  | tankah    | or 8 hashkhanis each |
| Oxen in good condition      | 2  | tankahs   | each                 |

• Muhammad bin Tughlak does not seem to have concerned himself with inscriptions, hence the only mention of his name in such documents is to be found in the Hindi Inscription of Chunár (p. 195 *ante*), and an incidental record in Devanágari characters, on the third story of the Kutb Minár, designating him as *Muhammad Sultán*, with the annexed date of *Samrat* 1382 = 1325 A.D.<sup>1</sup> His public works at Dehli were confined to the erection of the detached Fort of 'Adílubád, otherwise called *Muhammadábád*, at the south-east corner of Tughlakábád, with the *Satpalah*, or "seven-arched" dike, between Chirágh Dehli and Khirkí and the complete fortification of the suburbs of Dehli, enclosing the space from the Kutb by Khirkí, Chirágh Dehli, Shápur, etc. (the "Cutub Lath, Kherhee, Chiragh Dilhee, and Shahpor," of the accompanying map), and forming an *enceinte* of five miles, pierced with thirteen gates in the curtains alone, and well known in history by the title of *Jahán-panáh*,<sup>2</sup> "asylum of the world."

#### BENGAL COINS.

I revert, for the last time, to the money of the kings of Bengal. Iliás Sháh, the eighth of those who exercised the privilege of coining, either as Viceroys or temporarily independent Sovereigns, succeeded in emancipating himself from all interference on the part of the Saltáns of Dehli; so that from this period the kingdom of Bengal ceases to have either monetary or historical associations with the empire of the

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, Arch. Report, 1862-3, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Batutah, vi 147; Timur-Bec M de la Croix, book iv esp xx, coins of Shir Sháh, *infra*; Syud Ahmad, pp. 22, 31, Dehli Archaeological Society's Journal, 1853, map, p. 58, etc., Cunningham, 42; C. J. Campbell, J A S Bengal, 1866, p. 119, etc.

## VI ALA UD DIN ALI SHAH

'Ali Sháh, whom Muhammadan writers, by a strange jumble have endowed with the surname of his adversary Mubárah, and ordinarily refer to as "'Ali Mubárah'<sup>1</sup> assumed Kingship on the death of Kadr Khán, Muhammad Tughlak's representative at Lakhnauti, entitling himself, 'Alá ud-dín. The more important incidents of his reign are, confined to his hostilities with his rival, Fakhr ud din Mubarak of Sunárgaon, who possessed advantages in his maritime resources, while the rivers remained navigable for large vessels during the rainy season, but which were more than counterbalanced by 'Ali Sháh's power on land, which availed him for the greater part of the year, and which finally enabled him to establish his undisputed rule in the western provinces.

His coins exhibit dates ranging from 742 to 746 A.H., and bear the impress of the new mint of the metropolis, Firuzábád, an evidence of a change in the royal residence, which clearly implies something more than a mere removal to a new site proximate to the old Lakhnauti, whose name is henceforth lost sight of, and may be taken to indicate a strategetic transfer of the Court to the safer and less exposed locality of the future capital, Pandua.<sup>2</sup> 'Ali Shah is stated to have been assassinated by his foster brother, Háiji Ilías.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Budáoni MS. Ferishtah, iv 329 Stewart, p 82 *Ain-i Akbari* ii 21

<sup>2</sup> Stewart, speaking of Firuz's advance against Ilías says 'The Emperor advanced to a place now called Feroseporeábad where he pitched his camp and commenced the operations of the siege of Pandua (p 84). There is a *Makal* Firuzpúr in *S*ear Tandah noted in the *Ain-i Akbari* ii p 2. See also the note from Shams-i Sáfi quoted below (page 268) under the notice of Ilías Shah's reign.

<sup>3</sup> Stewart's *History of Bengal* p 83

*'Alá ud dín 'Alí Shah*

No 221 (pl vi fig 8) Silver Weight, 166 7 grs Rare  
Firuzabad, 742, 744, 745, 746 Type as usual

|                   |                     |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| سكندر الرمان      | السلطان الاعظم      |
| المسنون           | علاء الدسا والدليس  |
| عسايت الرحمن ناصر | ابوا المطغر علمسناد |
| أمير المؤمنين     | السلطان             |
| Margin—           |                     |

صرف هذه النسخة السكّه في السلالة مسروق راياند سنة اثنى اربعين و سعمائية

#### VII IKHTIAR UD DIN GHAZI SHAH

At the period of this king's accession to the sovereignty of

• Sunargaon in A.H. 750 or 751, we lose the aid of our most trustworthy recorder of the annals of Bengal during his own time. The conclusion of Ibn Batutah's narrative leaves Fakhr ud din Mubarak still in power, while the native authorities are clearly at fault in their arrangement of dates and events, and altogether silent as to any change in the succession in Eastern Bengal, except in their allusions to the more than problematical capture of Fakhr ud din and his execution by " 'Alí Mubarak" in 743 A.H., with the final accession of Ilas "one year and five months afterwards" <sup>1</sup>

The numismatic testimony would seem to show that Mubarak was succeeded by his own son, as the *Ul Sultan bin Ul Sultan* may be taken to imply. The immediately consecutive dates, and the absolute identity of the fabric of the coins, as well as the retention of the style of Right hand of

<sup>1</sup> Stewart's History of Bengal p. 83

reveals no coin of either party dated 743, but in 744 the two again compete for ownership, which 'Ali Sháh for the time being continues through 745 into 746, when the annual series is taken up and carried on successively for an uninterrupted twelve years by his more favoured opponent. It is needless to speculate on the varying course of these individual triumphs, suffice it to say, that the increasing power of the ruler of Pandua, in 754, excited the Emperor Firuz III to proceed against him in all the pomp and following of an Oriental Suzerain, resulting only in the confession of weakness, conveniently attributed to the periodical flooding of the country<sup>1</sup>—which effectively laid the foundation of the ult

<sup>1</sup> Stewart felt a difficulty about the right position of *Akddalh* the real point of attack, and a place of considerable importance in the local history of Bengal. The following is Zia Barni's description of the place, taken from the concluding chapters of his history on the occasion of Firuz Shah's (III.) invasion of Bengal in 754 A.H.—

وَكَدَالَهْ نَامْ مَوْصِيْ اَسْتْ بَرْدِيْكْ بَدْوَهْ كَهْ يَكْ طَرْ آَتْ آَتْ  
اَسْتْ وَطَرْ دُوْمْ حِيْكَلْ اَسْتْ دَرَانْ اَكَدَالَهْ تَحْصِسْ كَرْ وَارْ بَدْوَهْ  
مَرْدَمْ كَارْ آَمْدَرَانْ رَنْ سَجَهْ دَرْ اَكَدَالَهْ بَرْ

Rennell gives another Akdallah north of Dacca. "Map of Hindoostan

In the following passage Shams-i-Siraj desires to make it appear that Firuz III gave his own name to the city of Pandua but, as we have seen that the designation was applied to the new capital either in 740 or 742—that is, long before Firuz became king of Dehli—it will be preferable to conclude that the name was originally bestowed in honour of the Shams-ud-din Firuz of Bengal, No. II of the Bengal series (p. 193 *et seq.*) The quotation is otherwise of value as it establishes, beyond a doubt, the true position of the new metropolis—

(سَرْوَرْ شَادْ) دَرْ بَدْوَهْ رَسَدْ دَرْ آَنْ مَقَامْ حَطَمَهْ نَامْ حَرَنْتْ سَرَورْ  
شَادْ حَوَانِدَهْ وَ نَامْ شَرْ سَرْوَرْ آَنَادْ سَادِيدْ چَوْنْ سَلَطَانْ سَرْوَرْ شَادْ  
اَكَدَالَهْ رَا آَرَادِيَرْ نَامْ كَرْ وَ شَفَرْ بَدْوَهْ رَا مَرِيزْ آَنَادْ  
(hence the) \* \* \* آَرَادِيَرْ عَرْ اَكَدَالَهْ وَ سَرْوَرْ آَنَادْ عَرْ بَدْوَهْ

mate independence of Bengal,—a monarchy which was destined so to grow in power and material wealth as to be competent, indirectly, in the person of Shír Sháh, to recover for the old Muhammadan interest the cherished capitals of the north, and, temporarily, to eject from Hindustán the Mughals who too hastily boasted of an easily-achieved conquest of the country “from Bhíra to Bahár.”

Ilías Sháh's dates and mint cities may be summarized as follows :  
 1. Fírzábád, A.H. 740, 744, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758. 2. Sunárgáón, A.H. 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758.

#### TWENTIETH KING (A.H. 752-790; A.D. 1351-1388).

On the 24th of Muharram, A.H. 752, Fírz bin Rajab presented himself before the retreating army of his cousin, in State parade, on an elephant, wearing the robes of Sovereignty over the funereal garments, which he insisted upon retaining in honour of his deceased relative; and his formal inauguration was completed by the subdued ceremony of his coronation by the surviving sister of Muhammad bin Tughlak, with the tiara of his two predecessors. His elevation to the throne was not, however, altogether unopposed, as Khwájah-i Jahán, the minister in charge of Dehli, crediting the reported death of Fírz, had innocently set up a supposititious son of Muhammad bin Tughlak. Eventually, Khwájah-i Jahán met the Sultán, on his approach to the capital, with every confession of penitence, which Fírz was only too ready to accept; but the

leading nobles insisting upon the necessity of punishment for so grave an offence, the unfortunate minister was sacrificed to political expediency.<sup>1</sup>

Notably different from his energetic predecessor, Firuz seems to have been a very weak character, addicted to wine, devoted to the chase,<sup>2</sup> credulous, but amiable and merciful withal to an extent that, in less quiet times, might have proved disadvantageous,<sup>3</sup>—a man who would select a governor by a *far* in the Kurán,<sup>4</sup> and who, after having laboriously conducted his armies to the encounter, would withdraw them in the hour of victory from a desire to save the shedding of

<sup>1</sup> There is something pathetic in the story of his execution as told by Shams-Siraj Afif 'Khwajah : Jaháu was more than eighty years old. His frame was wasted and feeble, and his hair was white. He was a kind hearted man. On his dismissal by the Sultán, he was led to suppose that he was to pass the remainder of his days in retirement at Samána, but on the way the messenger of death overtook him, and he readily divined his fate. "Next day he asked Shir Khán for some tents, into one of which he went, performed his ablutions and said his prayers, . . . he then looked at his executioner, and asked if he had a sharp sword, and the executioner, who was a friend of the Khwajah, showed his weapon. The old man then told him to make his ablutions, say his prayers, and use his sword. When the man had completed his devotions, the Khwajah bowed his head to his prayer carpet, and while the name of God was on his lips his friend severed his head from his body"—Elliot's *Historians*, iii. 286

<sup>2</sup> "His special biographer sees nothing but virtue in Firuz's order that the district of Anwálah should be retained waste for hunting purposes, otherwise it would quickly have become peopled and cultivated under the prosperous and fostering government of Firuz" (iii. 353).

<sup>3</sup> "In the whole of these forty years (of Firuz's reign) not one leaf of dominion was shaken in the palace of sovereignty" (iii. 289).

<sup>4</sup> "The Sultan never transacted any business without referring to the Kurán for an augury" (iii. 329). Here is an instance of his superstition given under his own hand—"Under the guidance of the Almighty I arranged that the heirs of those persons who had been executed in the reign of my late lord and patron Sultan Muhammad Shah, and those who had been deprived of a limb, nose, eye, hand, or foot, should be reconciled to the late Sultan, and be made content with gifts, so that they executed deeds declaring their satisfaction, duly attested by witnesses. These deeds were put into a chest,

the blood of the Faithful.<sup>1</sup> His generalship in his two campaigns to Bengal, and his eventual reduction of Tattah, seems to have been of the lowest order; and the way that he allowed himself to be deluded into the deserts of Cutch,<sup>2</sup> or the defiles of Jánagar, seems to savour of positive fatuity.<sup>3</sup> His kindness of heart led him to introduce many measures for the amelioration of the condition of his subjects, which, though often of very doubtful expediency, were clearly well intentioned in their inception, and based upon a very complete knowledge of the condition of the country, of which he was not only a native,<sup>4</sup> but, by the mother's side, of good

which was placed in the *Ddrū-I dman* at the head of the tomb of the late Sultán, in the hope that God, in his great clemency, would show mercy to my late friend and patron, and make those persons feel reconciled to him"—Futūhāt-I Firuz Sháh, Elliot's Historians, iii. p 385, Briggs's *Fershtah*, i 464, Syud Ahmad's Work, p 29, *Jour. Asiatique*, 1860, p 401.

<sup>1</sup> "He sent a trusty man across the river with orders directing his forces to desist from battle and return to him"—Elliot's Historians, iii. 332 So also p 297.

<sup>2</sup> "The guides who led the way and conducted them had maliciously misled them into a place called the Rann of Cutch" (iii. 324).

<sup>3</sup> "For six months no news of the Sultán reached Dehlí" (iii. 315).

<sup>4</sup> Those who would follow up the inquiry in more detail may be referred to Professor Dowson's exhaustive translation of Shams-i-Surfj 'Afif, printed, in vol iii. of Elliot's Historians. The following are the leading items —

1. The system, condemned by the wiser 'Alá ud-din, of assignments of revenue in the form of *Jagirs* in lieu of direct payments (iii pp 289, 328, 346).

2. Credit given for the value of *Nuzrdna* presented at Court in the accounts of the feudatories (p 340, also 357).

3. The assessment of 10 per cent on the total outlay, or the cost price of the canals, as a rent-charge for the use of the irrigation water by the agriculturists (p 301).

4. Separation of the private income of the Sultán from the State accounts (p 302). See also p 357.

5. The curious and only obscurely explained policy of collecting and employing organized bodies of slaves (p 340).

6. Government gardens, and profits derived therefrom (p 345).

Rájput blood;<sup>1</sup> while his *vizir* and confidential adviser was himself a well born Hindú of Tilingana,<sup>2</sup> whose son inherited his administrative functions in A H 772.<sup>3</sup> The second *Khan* :

7 Firuz's determination to circumscribe his dominions, but to develop more fully their resources

8. Revenues of the kingdom incidentally detailed at 60 850,000 *tankahs* or £6 085,000. The revenues of the Doáb (of the Ganges and Jumna) alone placed at 8 000,000 or £800 000 (p. 346)

9 Amplification of the divisions of the coinage (p. 357) See also p. 277 *msfrd*

10 The cities, forts, palaces, *annicuts* (*bands*), mosques, tombs, and caravan serais (or *Khdnkdh*) built by Firuz (p. 354), also Firishtah, 1 465

11 Aid to the unemployed (p. 355)

12 Marriage portions for the daughters of needy Muslims (p. 361)

13 The institution of State hospitals for *all* classes, native or foreign (p. 361)

14 (A H 777) Abolition of vexatious taxes of various kinds (p. 363) Total loss to the State estimated at 3 000 000 *tankahs*, or £300 000 (p. 364) These cesses are more fully detailed under Firuz's own hand at p. 377 from his *Futihat-i Firuz Sháh* See also Briggs's *Firishtah*, 1 p. 463

15 Poll tax levied on the Brahmins, who had hitherto been exempted. The full rate of the tax (the *Ji* *tak*) was 40 *tankahs* 20 *tankahs*, and 10 *tankahs* according to the several classes but the Sultán reduced the demand on the Brahmins to one *fifty kdn* piece, or 'adah for every 10 *tankahs* (p. 368, and original MSS.)

<sup>1</sup> She was the daughter of *Rdha* Mall Bhatti, whose estates near Abúhár were subject to Daibalpúr, Ghází beg Tughlak's special command.—Elliott's *Histories*, iii. 272

<sup>2</sup> When Sultan Muhammad sent the *Rai* of Tilingana to Dehlí, *Kattu* accompanied him. On the death of the *Rai*, *Kattu* made the profession of the Muslim faith, and was entitled *Malbúb*. "Although he had no knowledge of reading or writing he was a man of great common sense, acumen, and intelligence" (iu. 357).

<sup>3</sup> "When Khán-i Jahán held the fief of Multán, he had a son born to him. He wrote to acquaint Sultan Muhammad [Tughlak] Shah of the fact, and that monarch directed that the child should be named Jánán Sháh. This was the person who was afterwards known as Khán-i Jahán, son of Khán-i Jahán.

*Jahán* seems to have served his king faithfully for many years, till Fírúz's failing powers suggested a possible succession to the throne in his own person, which was, however, defeated by the Prince Muhammad Khán, who was thereupon associated in the government, in all form, as joint king and heir apparent. This arrangement was of brief effect, for the son was obliged to flee from the metropolis; and the father having, for the moment, again resumed his functions as sole Sultán, speedily relinquished all power to his grandson, the son of Fath Khán, who finally succeeded to the throne on the death of Fírúz, in Ramazán, 790 A.H.

The reign of this monarch, though presenting few political incidents, is justly celebrated in the traditions of the land for the number and magnificence of the public works executed under his auspices. Ferishtah specifies no less than 845 undertakings of various kinds that the country owed to the constructive tastes of Fírúz Sháh.<sup>1</sup> The Sultán himself, in the autobiographical record he has left behind him, is more modest in his totals, but he clearly excludes the mention of many works of which we have palpable knowledge, and

789) The son has left a record of his coming to office, in 772 A.H., on the walls of the black Mosque, near the tomb of Nizám-ud-dín Auliá, where he styles himself the . . . سید رادہ خانجہان . . . Syud Ahmad's Work, pp 32 31 &c, facsimile Inscription, No. 11 (79), Jour Asiatique, 1860, p 409 There is another inscription of Khán-i Jahán's on the Kalán Masjid, dated in A.H. 789, in which he describes himself as

سید رادہ درکار جونا شہ مقول المحتاط خانجہان اس خانجہان —Syud Ahmad's Facsimile, No. 11 (79), p 32 A full description of this Mosque, which is situated within the modern walls of Dehli, near the Túrkomán Gate (No. 5 Map), is to be found in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1847), p 577, the joint contribution of Capt H. Lewis and Mr Cope. The article is largely illustrated with plans and elevations, and furnishes a transcript of the inscription at full length.

<sup>1</sup> Briggs, i 465.

which bear his name in the language of the people even at the present day. One of the most curious deficiencies a modern mind detects in the long list of buildings, canals, dams, bridges, and other works enumerated by him, is the total omission of even the name of a road, India's greatest want, and the deficiency of which facility of transit the Sultán had so signally experienced while personally in command of retiring armies. His canals, his best and most enduring gift, were confessedly prompted not by any kindly desire to aid and succour his subjects, but to make existence possible in the new towns his early Bhatti predilections induced him to found in the deserts of Hansi, and the commercial element in these beneficencies crops up amusingly when he seeks for ecclesiastical sanction for his share of ten per cent on the outlay.

These undertakings will be referred to more fully, and recapitulated in his own words in connexion with the notice of his inscriptions, which follows the enumeration of his coins.

No 223 Gold Weight, 167 grs (B M)

Obverse—  
وائى سائى بىداىى مىرور شاد سلطانى

Reverse—

صرىت هده السكك فى رمان الامام ابو العباس احمد حلبت ملکه

No 224 (pl 17 fig 113) Gold Weight, 170 grs (B M)

فى رمان الامام  
امير المؤمنين ابوالفتح  
حلبت حلبت

السلطان الاعظم  
امير المؤمنين  
امير المطاعن مىرور شاد  
السلطانى حلبت ملکه

Margin— \* \* \* \*  
Mr Freeling possessed a dated piece of this class of 757 A H

FIRUZ SHAH

No 225 Weight, 168 grs Col Guthrie

لار الاعظم سع امير المؤمنين ابو المظفر مسروور شاه—  
الاى حلد ملكه

ت هذه السكة في رسم الامام امير المؤمنين ابي الفتح—  
حد نالله حلد حلاقه

No 226 Gold Weight, 170 grs Unique Gen T P Sm  
لار الاعظم سع امير المؤمنين ابو المظفر مسروور شاه—  
الاى حلد ملكه

Reverse { اس الامام امير المؤمنين ابي عبد الله حلد حلاقه, \* \*  
Margin, ٥٥٥

No 227 Gold Weight, 167 grs Small coin A.H 788 (H  
مسروور شاه سلطاني—

Reverse—٧٨٨ نايس امير المؤمنين

No 228 (pl iv fig 115) Silver and Copper Weight, 141  
(Average weight of six selected specimens, 139.5 grs )

Dates observed A.H 759, 761, 762, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769  
771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781,  
783, 784, 785, 787, 788, 789, 790

مسروور شاه سلطاني صربت مصروفت دهلي—  
الجنه امير المؤمنين حلد حلاقه ٣٧٧—

No 229 Silver and Copper Weight, 54 grs

مسروور شاه سلطاني حلد ملكه—

الجنه ابو الفتح حلد حلاقه—

No 230 Silver and Copper Weight, 140 grs A.H. 784, 785

*Obverse* as No 228

*Reverse*— $\text{٧٨٤} - \text{الخليفة أبو عبد الله حلسه}$

No 231 Silver and Copper Weight, 34.8 grs

*Obverse*— $\text{قور سلطاني}$

*Reverse*— $\text{بحضرت دهلي}$

No 232 Silver and Copper Weight, 17.4 and 17.8 grs.

Very rare

*Obverse*— $\text{قور شاد}$

*Reverse*— $\text{دهلي}$



No 233. Copper Weight, 68 grs

*Obverse*— $\text{قور شاد سلطاني}$

*Reverse*— $\text{دار الملك دهلي}$

No 234 Copper. Weight, 36 grs

*Obverse*— $\text{قور سلطاني}$

*Reverse*— $\text{بحضرت دهلي}$

No 235 (pl. iv. fig. 121) Copper Weight, 55 grs

*Obverse*— $\text{قور شاد سلطاني}$

*Reverse*— $\text{ابو العباس احمد}$

No 236 Silver and Copper. Weight, 84 grs Very rare

*Obverse*— $\text{قور سلطاني}$

*Reverse*— $\text{خلسنه ابو المنج}$

No 237 Copper Thick coin, much defaced. Weight, 106 grs  
Unique

*Obverse* { Area—شاد سرور  
Margin—Illegible

*Reverse* — حادت حدت الله عبد ابو

#### POSTHUMOUS COINS OF FIRUZ

No 238 Coins similar in types and legends to No 228, bear respectively the dates A.H. 791, 799, 801, 804, 816, 817, 820, 824, 825, 828, 830

No 239 Copper Average weight, 68 grs A.H. 799, 800

*Obverse* — سلطانی شاد سرور

*Reverse* — دھلی کوہ دار الملک

Frequent reference has been made during the course of these numismatic inquiries to the system, traditional in India, of combining silver and copper in varied proportions for the purpose of providing for the gradational sub-divisions of the *silver tanlak*. We now reach a period when the practical application of this indigenous theory was greatly extended and elaborated in its subordinate details, and simultaneously we obtain, for the first time, official recognition of the process employed in the Mint, together with a full enumeration of the various pieces deemed necessary for the monetary rates and exchanges of the shopkeeper and the ordinary bazar purchases of the people at large.

Shams-i-Siraj 'Afif, the special biographer of Firuz Shah, gives the following account of the improvements introduced into the circulating media of the country during his patron's reign. Following out the principle I have laid down for myself elsewhere, I reproduce the *ipsissima verba* of the

We gather from this passage that Firúz continued to issue *gold tankahs* at the old 175 grain weight, to which, indeed, his extant coins bear testimony; but we miss any examples of the 200 grain gold pieces introduced by his predecessor. It is not, however, so clear as to what the weight of the *silver tankah* here alluded to was estimated at. Critically following the meaning of the term *tankah*, it should have corresponded with the measure of the parallel gold piece and that of the ancient silver *tankah* of 175 grains; but we meet with no silver coin of this amount, though there are numerous examples of coins weighing 140 grains, some of the less alloyed specimens of which may answer to the full *'adah*; but, as has been already remarked (pp. 219, 237), the issue of *tankahs* and *'adahs* seems to have been rather kept in abeyance, the abundance of gold coin now in circulation having relieved the silver currency of much of its early responsibility, so that the mint operations were chiefly devoted to securing a full supply of the groats and other alternative fractions of the Indian system. The gradational sub-divisions in the new coins provided by Firúz are clearly designed to meet the fractional parts of the new 140 grain coin, while the sixty-fours of the old system are fully kept in view, both for the sake of the fundamental *káni* estimate in itself, as well as to secure the correspondence with the old 175 grain silver *tankahs*, which must still have constituted a large proportion of the local currency, notwithstanding that Muhammad bin Tughlak's momentary effort to restore the old weight may have been unsustained: in so much so, that we find the ancient *tankah* fully re-established in the reign of Mubárik Sháh II.<sup>1</sup> (A.H. 835); and Tímúr had already testified that

<sup>1</sup> These coins give us the nearest approach to the estimated 175 grains of the normal *tankah* hitherto observed, rising up to a still preserved weight of 174 grains, and the silver money of Muhammad bin Farid completes the evidence in an existing weight of 175 grains.

the bulk of the coin found in the royal treasury at Dehli, on its capture in 801 A.H., consisted of the old *tankahs* of 'Alâ ud din Khilji

Under this dual system, fractional pieces are seen to have been ranged in the following order —

- a  $\frac{5}{8}$ ths of 175 grains of silver (*i.e.*  $131\frac{1}{4}$  grains) or 48 *Janis*, that is  $\frac{2}{3}$ ths or  $\frac{1}{2}$ ths of the old *tankah*
- b  $\frac{1}{8}$ ths of 140 grains of slightly alloyed silver<sup>1</sup> (the *misi*) or  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the *adali*
- c  $\frac{5}{8}$ ths of 175 grains, or  $\frac{1}{2}$ ths or  $\frac{1}{5}$ ths of the old *tankah*
- d  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{8}$ ths of 175 grains, or  $\frac{1}{5}$ ths of the old *tankah*
- e  $\frac{1}{8}$ ths of 140 grains or  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the *adali*

Added to these were the old *hasht Janis*, *do-Janis*, and *ek Janis*, of which coins we have absolute examples among Muhammad bin Tughlak's issues, while the *shashJanis*, for which credit is especially claimed, as a novelty, originated by Firuz, seem to have been already in existence in the form of coined money, otherwise it is difficult to understand how the African travellers should so constantly refer to them in their estimates of prices. Very possibly the laudations of the biographer only refer to the introduction of a larger and more systematic supply of these pieces, effected when Firuz revised the general scheme of the then current coinage. Two of this monarch's minor triumphs may well be conceded to him—the institution of half and quarter *jisals*. These fractions could already be met by payments in simple copper, as the 4 *fals* in that metal sufficiently supplied the needful change under the old system but Firuz's aim seems to have been to produce these small pieces in mixed copper and silver for the sake of the

more portable form the composite alloy would secure. And this, it must be confessed, is the grand merit of the entire scheme of a coinage of mixed metals; it did for a race who rigorously exacted full metallic values what a token currency in the subordinate metals does for the European civilization of this day; and in these very minute subdivisions, it provided, moreover, a tangible piece of money in the place of a star or flake of silver,<sup>1</sup> which a breath of wind would blow away, equally as it avoided the inconvenient weight incident to the lower value of pure copper. These new pieces were severally denominated 'adha ½ "half" and *bikh* بیکه (probably the appropriate vernacular *bikh* بیکه "alms," ὀβολός). The latter coin may be identified with No. 232, which is the very smallest *bit* contributed by any available specimen of Firúz's money.

I took the opportunity, during my last visit to Dchli, of having a number of Firúz Sháh's coins assayed by the ordinary native process of blowing-off the copper with lead, a process which, when carefully conducted, affords a reasonably sufficient test,<sup>2</sup> which in other cases was confirmed by more

<sup>1</sup> The *Adha* or *jital*, supposing it to have been minted in unmixed silver, would have required 2 73437 grains of that metal, so that the quarter *jital* would have weighed only 68308 grains, or less than 7-10ths of a grain troy. Those who are in the habit of using decimals of grains in more exact experiments will understand what this means.

<sup>2</sup> It must always be borne in mind that this was precisely *the* ultimate assay test within the reach of the authorities of the day, of which we have an amusing episode in the deterioration of these identical *shashkans*, effected by a false Mint master, one "Kajar Sháh," who, in 772 A. H., ventured to put forth these coins at a depreciation of one grain of silver in the 16 4 odd grains of silver, less the copper alloy, by law required. Certain informers having reported this fact to the Vazír, a trial of the pix was instituted before the Sultán himself, aided by all the outward formalities of stripping the immediate operators, but insidiously allowing the ascertained deficiency of silver to be introduced into selected bits of charcoal, which, when thrown into the cupel, restored the legitimate balance,—a result

formal analysis, according to the European method. On this occasion of personal superintendence of the assay itself, I satisfied myself of the extraordinary aptitude of the local experts in judging of intrinsic contents by exacting a preliminary declaration on their part of the amount of silver each individual coin might be expected to yield. In certain cases of old and dirty pieces, recourse was had to a clearing of the surface by rubbing, when the glint of the silver soon indicated its proportion in the general total, but usually the feel between the thumb and the sensitive fingers of the professional assayer enabled him to pronounce a strikingly near approach to the weight of silver the operating goldsmith produced in the final button of silver. The following is the result of these different assays of various specimens of coin No 228 —

| No | 1 | S C | Wt | 141 grs   | A H       | 765 | Result, 12 grs silver |
|----|---|-----|----|-----------|-----------|-----|-----------------------|
| "  | 2 | "   | "  | 131 5 grs | "         | 767 | " 23 "                |
| "  | 3 | "   | "  | 132 2 "   | "         | 771 | " 18 "                |
| "  | 4 | "   | "  | 140 grs   | "         | 781 | " 24 "                |
| "  | 5 | "   | "  | 140 "     | "         | 788 | " 17 "                |
| "  | 6 | "   | "  | 140 "     | "         | 788 | " 18 "                |
| "  | 7 | "   | "  | 132 "     | (No date) | "   | 19 "                  |

It will be seen that in these returns of pure silver we have optional examples of at least three several degrees of value—the minor variations may fairly be attributed to the want of homogeneity in the mixture of the metals, and which would probably be rectified by taking an average of a larger number of specimens. In each case, it must be remembered, allowance has to be made for the value of the copper, amounting

in many instances to over 120 grains, which proportionately reduces the total of pure silver required to complete the intrinsic value of each denominational piece. Nos 2 and 4 may, under these limitations, stand for 10 *kanī* pieces; Nos 3, 5, and 6, for irregular examples of a *hashtkanī*; and No 1 for a *shashkanī*; but these identifications are purely speculative, and encumbered with many elements of discord in the minor details, so that, in testing authoritative values for any purposes of comparison of prices, it will be far better to rely upon the clearly ascertained fractional divisions of the *tankah* of 175 grains of fine silver, the declared equivalent of 64 *kanīs*.

PRICES OF GRAIN DURING FIRUZ SHAH'S REIGN.<sup>1</sup>

|   |                                                                  |      |                           |                       |
|---|------------------------------------------------------------------|------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 | Wheat . . . . .                                                  | کندم | per man . . .             | 8 <i>jitals</i>       |
| 2 | Barley . . . . .                                                 | جو   | " . . .                   | 4 "                   |
| 3 | Gram ( <i>Cicer arietinum</i> ) . . . . .                        | نحوں | " . . .                   | 4 "                   |
| 4 | Coarsely ground grain for horses, <sup>دليڈ</sup> 10 <i>sirs</i> | دليڈ | . . . 1 <i>jital</i>      |                       |
| 5 | Ghi . . . . .                                                    | روغن | ستور per <i>sir</i> . . . | 2½ "                  |
| 6 | Sugar . . . . .                                                  | شکر  | تری " . . .               | 3 to 3½ <i>jitals</i> |

Q. Inscription of Firuz on the 5th story of the Kutb Minār,  
dated A.H. 770<sup>2</sup>

درین مساوہ سہ سعین و سعینیہ نافے برق حل راہ یافته بود  
توصیق ریاضی برکشیده عایت سحابی سورور سلطانی این مقام را  
باحتیاط تمام عمارت کرد حالت بیچون این مقام را از حمیع  
آفات مصون داراد

<sup>1</sup> Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf. The returns Nos. 5 and 6 are derived from a marginal addition in the Marquis of Hastings's MS.

<sup>2</sup> The Persian texts give <sup>دليڈ</sup> دليڈ, the local word is دلیلہ or دلیلہ, دلیلہ (from دل) "half ground, "split peas" The native term extends to all sorts of horse mashes, which the people of India have great faith in.

<sup>3</sup> See Ewer's Inscriptions As Res xiv 488, and Synd Ahmed's facsimile, 26

This inscription has an important bearing upon the history of the Minaret itself, though it merely tells us that Firuz repaired the damage caused by lightning; but taken in connexion with the Sultán's own words, in his autobiography, we gather a distinct affirmation that the Minaret was commenced under the auspices of Mu'izz-ud-dín Muhammad bin Sám, which fully bears out the suggestive reading of the name of Kutb-ud-dín *Sipahsalar* (advertised to at page 23 *suprd*), as still legible upon the bands of the lower story. The Sultán's expressions, at the same time, dispose of a very ingenious theory lately propounded by a Civil Engineer, that Firuz himself actually *built* the two upper stories of the Minár;<sup>1</sup> that he raised its height is

<sup>1</sup> "As regards the age of the various portions [of the Kutb Minár] as they now stand, the most superficial examination will show that the three lower stories, whilst they are identical in style and construction with the work of Altamsh, differ completely in both particulars from the two uppermost ones. In the former, except the outer casing, which is of sandstone (no marble being used anywhere), the walls are of cut granite, so too are the central pillar and the steps, which latter are not plain lintel blocks, but are carried upon corbels projecting from the walls. All the doorways and openings have Hindú horizontal arches, the sandstone is old and discoloured, and the ornamentation dates from Altamsh and Kutb-ud-dín's time. In the two upper stories all is changed, the walls, steps, and central pillar are of bright red sandstone, while marble being introduced into the outer face, the steps have no corbels, the arches have true voussoirs, and the ornamentation is identical with what we find prevalent in the latter half of the 14th century. We are thus warranted in assuming that these two stories were *newly designed* and built by Firdz Shah in A.D. 1363. General Cunningham agrees as far as the fifth story is concerned, but thinks the fourth is original, as the inscription over the doorway dates from the reign of Altamsh. But this doorway is exactly similar to the one above, it is built of similar stone, is of a similar shape, and, like it, has true voussoirs, it is clear, therefore, that the old tablet of Altamsh had been ~~sumptuously~~ <sup>sumptuously</sup> *re-set* into the new work of Firuz Shah"—Notes on the

incontestable, but the tenor of his words would 'certainly

item of evidence as that quoted by Zíá ud-dín Khán of Loháru in the first instance (Dehli Arch. Journal, 1852, p 29), and prominently noticed by Gen. Cunningham (Arch. Report, p 32), that the celebrated geographer, Abúl Fida, had, some time before his death, in 732 A H, or necessarily twenty years prior to the accession of Firuz, put upon record that the *Masjid* of the Jám-i Masjid at Dehli counted 360 steps in its circular ascending staircase. Now, considering that the utmost limit this monument is ever known to have reached under all subsequent additions is 379 steps, it would be impossible, under such conditions, to concede to Firuz Sháh the construction of two complete stories, and very lofty stories, as they fall in the general proportion to the total height, even if the very moderate increase he claims to have achieved did not otherwise determine the question. In a similar spirit of eccentric originality and needless antagonism to General Cunningham, Mr Campbell goes on to enunciate one of the most singular propositions ever put forward by an archaeologist, to the effect that "the citadel" of Rai Pithora's fort, "when rebuilt by 'Ala-ud-dín, received the name of *Siri*;" (p 214), and again, "Kutb citadel . . . rebuilt by 'Ala ud din, A D 1304, and renamed by him *Siri*;" (p 216). In his attempt to support this novel theory, the late Executive Engineer of Dehli entirely disregards the important testimony of Ibn Batutah, that the "Dar ul Khilafat *Siri* was a totally separate and detached town, situated at such a distance from Old Dehli as to necessitate the construction of the walls of *Jahán Panáh* to bring them within a defensive circle, and that the *Hau-i-Khdj*, intervened, in an indirect line, between the two localities" (in pp 146, 155). Mr Campbell's interpretation of the evidence of the Zafar Námah is equally imperfect. What can be more distinct than the details given at the time of the publication of Messrs Cope and Lewis's plan, to which he refers for the refutation of Gen. Cunningham's position, than the statement (at p 24 of the self same number of the Dehli Archaeological Journal), that "*Siri* was circular, and surrounded on all sides by a wall (a similar wall surrounded Old Dehli), and from 'that wall of *Siri* . . . to that wall of Old Dehli . . . there are built walls on both sides, the space between which is called *Jahán Panáh*." If anything were wanting to confute the whole ratiocination, Mr Campbell's own arguments would complete the case against him. Not only is he obliged under the terms of his own reasoning to invent an imaginary *Siri* in the suburbs of his "New Dehli of the 15th century," (extending from Indrapat to Khirzabad on the banks of the Jumna), and affirmed by him to have been called "*Siri* by Sharif-ud-dín," but the very passage he cites with so much emphasis from a choice copy of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, is positively and emphatically condemnatory of his own fallacy. What can possibly be more definite than the statement of Abúl Fazl, that

سلطان علاءالدین شری دیگر ساد بھاد تلہ بورساحت آبرا سری کوئید  
"Sultán 'Ala ud din built another fort, which they call *Siri*?"

not extend to a claim to two stories of the whole edifice<sup>1</sup>

R Inscription in Chiragh Dehlí, dated A.H. 775<sup>2</sup>

سَمِّ اللَّهِ تَسْمِيَّةً دَكْرَهُ عَمَارَةً أَيْنَ كَسَدَ مَسْمُونَ دَرْعَهُ مَسْوَنَ الْوَاثِقِ  
تَائِدَ الرَّحْمَانِ أَبُو الْمُطَفَّرِ مُسَوْرُ شَاهِ السُّلْطَانِ حَلَدَ اللَّهُ مَلِكَهُ سَالِ  
بِرْهَقْتَادَ هَفْتَادَ بِسْعَ اَرْتَارِسَهُ حَمْرَتَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ

S Inscription of Firuz Shah at Benares, from an impression on paper  
taken by Gen A. Cunningham, dated A.H. 779 = A.D. 1375

*The Inscription is engraved on one of the stone roof beams of the edifice on the  
western bank of the Dakarlyd Kund*

سَمِّ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

أَرْعَوْنَ وَعَادِتْ رِبَابِيَّ وَبَائِدَ قَصْلَ بِرَبَابِيَّ مَسْجِدَ وَكَسَدَ دَهْلِرَوْ  
حَرَّةَ وَبَرَدَيَانَ حَوْصَ وَمَحْوَطَهُ مَقَامَ مُتَرَكَهُ سَدَ حَمَرَ الدِّينِ شَهِيدَ عَلَوَيَّ  
طَالَهُ اللَّهُ ثَرَاهُ وَحَلَلَ الْحَمَةَ مُثَرَاهُ بَعْدَ سُلْطَانِ الْأَعْظَمِ الْوَاثِقِ بَائِدَ

وَمَسَارَهُ سُلْطَانِ مُعَرَّالِ الدِّينِ سَامِرَا كَهُ اَرْ حَادَهُهُ بَرَقَ اَفَتَادَهُ بَوَدَ بَعْتَارَ  
اَنَكَهُ بَوَدَ اَرْ اَرْتَاعَ قَدِيمَى بَلَدَتِرِمَرِمَسَ كَرَدَهُ شَدَ

—VS. *Futūhát-i Firuz Sháhí*

I see that Shams-i Siráf Afif erroneously attributes the Kuth Minár to Altamsh  
—Elliot's *Historians* no. 353

<sup>3</sup> Chiragh Dehlí occupies a prominent position in the illustrative plan of the environs of Dehlí near Sháhpúr and Khirká. The shrine seems to have been originally erected in 775 A.H. by Firuz Sháh, within the enceinte of Jahán pánah.  
—Syud Ahmad, pp. 36, and facsimile, No. 21, p. 31 bis, *Journal Asiatique*, 1860, p. 410

الرحمن أبو المظفر فیروز شاد السلطان خلد الله ملکه عمارت بندہ  
مسکین ضیاء احمد کرد حق تعالیٰ بندہ مسکین خودرا عاقبت  
بخیر گرداند بحق محمد و الہ اجمعین فی العشرۃ من شہر ربیع  
الاول سنه سبع و سبعین و سبعماہیه

I have selected the above inscription, in preference to any further citations of Firuz Sháh's proper epigraphs, for several reasons—it is new and virtually unpublished,<sup>1</sup> it affords a fresh example of the avowed Muslim policy of appropriating Idol temples, for which Benares offered an unusually ample field.

The inscription records, in curious concert with the mixed style of the various buildings referred to, that one Zia Ahmad, a true believer, by the aid and grace of God, "built or repaired the mosque, with the dome over the vestibule, or outer entrance porch, the reception chamber,<sup>2</sup> the steps of the reservoir or tank, and the encircling wall of the shrine of Syud Fakhr-ud-dín, the descendant of 'Alí, in A.H. 777." Most of these edifices had been elaborately traced and described by Messrs. Horne and Sherring prior to the discovery of the inscription. The following passages from their joint article in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1865), p. 1, will put the reader in possession of a general view of the locality and the more material constructive details of the

<sup>1</sup> I exhibited General Cunningham's paper impressions, with some brief remarks, at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, on the 4th of July, 1870.

<sup>2</sup> Syud Ahmad informs me that the technical meaning attaching to *خانہ* in India, is a small chamber subordinate to the Mosque, in which the servitor of the shrine lives, and in which pilgrims and others occasionally find a refuge.

o

buildings The inscription itself is cut upon one of the stone beams of the flat roofed structure upon the western bank of the reservoir, which is thus noticed —

“ Ascending the terrace, you come to the building itself The beams and slabs constituting the roof are in some cases 9 feet in length, and the roof is supported by three rows of immensely thick stone columns, the capitals of which are in the form of a cross The cornice decorating the walls is not of modern narrowness, but is 12 inches deep, and is ornamented with carvings of various elegant devices The outer wall on the western side is strengthened by a huge buttress of stone 14 feet wide and 15 feet high ”

“ To the south of the tank is a *ghaut*, the stones of which are scattered about in great disorder, so that, looking at it from a distance, it has the appearance of an utter ruin And such it really is But it is nevertheless a comparatively modern structure, for the stones of which it is composed, judging from the elaborate and finished carvings on many of them, have been contributions from fallen edifices in the neighbourhood

“ At the south west corner of the tank . . . overhanging the Kund, is a huge breastwork of stone, on the top of which is a spacious court-yard and a Muhammadan Dargah, or place of prayer

“ To the east of the Dargah is a small mosque, 37 feet long by 19½ feet broad, open to the east, and supported by three rows of pillars, five in each row The pillars in the second row have deep scroll carvings on their sides with ornamental corners, consisting of Lotus seed pods one on another ”

“ Some parts of this building are certainly original, and there can be no doubt of the antiquity of the pillars which belonged to some Buddhist [Hindu] cloister, or of the fact of the modern character of the inclosing wall

“ A few steps off is an inclosure in the form of an irregular parallelogram a wall being on either side and two small Buddhist [Hindu] buildings at its extremities That situated at the northern extremity is in some respects like the mosque just described Its carvings, however, are not all the same, and its ornamental band is of a very ancient type There is a small building used as a Ranza

attached to its north west angle and sustained by ancient pillars and modern walls. The building is surmounted by a low cupola of primitive construction. It is not unlikely that originally there were cloisters on this bank of the Kund, and that the three small buildings just described were all at one time connected together.'

If we could determine with any certainty when the Indo-Arabian Saint entitled *Fakr ud din 'Alawi* flourished,<sup>1</sup> we could, perhaps, better estimate and more definitely check the extent of the original or secondary work performed by the pious Muhammadan of Benares of the second half of the seventh century of the Hijrah.

### FIRUZ SHAH'S PUBLIC WORKS

Firuz Sháh's too modest enumeration of his own good works, as recorded in his autobiography,<sup>2</sup> is reproduced in

<sup>1</sup> Syud Ahmad speaks of a *Fakhr ud-din Sáhib* in his notice of *Chiragh Dehlí*, but he gives no intimation of the epoch at which he flourished (p. 33) *Journal Asiatique* 1860 p. 410.

<sup>2</sup> *Wuzám ud-dín* Ahmad tells us that the text of this brief chronicle, entitled *میوہات مسرور شادی*, was engraved on the octagonal dome of the Jámi Mosque at Firuzábád.

و در مسجد حامع مسروراناد سا ساده و مشتمل است بر داشت طرف  
آن کند مصروف این کتاب را داشت ناب حال کرده فروده اس  
مسجد حامع مسروری، and J.R.A.S. iv. VS. 446  
See also Briggs's *Feruhtah* 1. 46<sup>o</sup> Syud Ahmad's Work p. 34 under

The *Futúbat-i Firuz Sháhi* opens with the following words couched in the first person singular —

من بخاره مسکن مسرور بن رحیل ام محمد شاد بن علی شاه

the motives which led his patron to commence some of his exceptional undertakings Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad's totals, on the other hand, though not so obviously exaggerated as Ferishtah's, are clearly fanciful, especially in the number of *even* hundreds they display.

Tomb of Sultán 'Alá-ud-dín I repaired this, and furnished it with sandal-wood doors I repaired the wall of the *ddarakhshah*, and the west wall of the mosque, which is within the college, and I also made good the tessellated pavement (*farsh-i ta'shib*)

Tomb of Sultán Kutb-ud-dín and the (other) sons of Sultán 'Alá-ud-dín, viz., Khur Khán, Sháh Khán, Faríd Khán, Sultán Sháháb-ud-dín, Sikandar Khán, Muhammíd Khán, 'Usmán Khán, and his grandsons, and the sons of his grandsons The tombs of these I repaired and renovated.

I also repaired the doors of the dome, and the lattice work of the tomb of Sháh-ul Islám Nizám ul hakk wa-ud-dín, which were made of sandal-wood I hung up the golden chandeliers with chains of gold in the four recesses of the dome, and I built a meeting room, for before this there was none

Tomb of Malik Táj ul Mulk Káfuri, the great *wa'ir* of Sultán 'Alá-ud-dín He was a most wise and intelligent minister, and acquired many countries, on which the horses of former sovereigns had never placed their hoofs, and caused the *khutba* of Sultán 'Alá-ud-dín to be repeated there He had 52,000 horsemen His grave had been levelled with the ground, and his tomb laid low I caused his tomb to be entirely renewed, for he was a devoted and faithful subject

The *Ddru-l 4man*, or 'house of rest' This is the bed and resting place of great men I had new sandal-wood doors made for it, and over the tombs of these distinguished men I had curtains and hangings suspended

The expense of repairing and renewing these tombs and colleges was provided from their ancient endowments

*Jahan-pánah* This foundation of the late Sultán Muhammíd Sháh, my kind patron, by whose bounty I was reared and educated, I restored

All the fortifications which had been built by former Sovereigns at Dehlí I repaired

I was enabled by God's help to build a *Ddru sh shifd*, or 'hospital,' for the benefit of every one, of high or low degree, who was suddenly attacked by illness and overcome by suffering Physicians attend there to ascertain the disease, to attend to the cure, to regulate the diet, and to administer medicine The cost of the medicines and the food is defrayed from my endowments All sick persons, residents and travellers gentle and simple, bond and free, resort thither, their maladies are treated, and under God's blessing, they are cured"—Futuhát-i Firúz Sháh, translated in Elliot's Historians, iii. 382

Among the many works of direct utility or more enduring fame, there are three of Firuz Shah's exploits which claim especial notice in this place—two of them as intimately associated with the history of the capital, and the third as having given an impetus to the development of the resources of the land which we participate in to this day. The first of these operations was the removal of the Court to the new city of Firuzabad, whose outline may be roughly traced on the illustrative plan as extending from Indrapat ("Indiput Fort") along the Jumna by Firuz Shah's Lât ("Feroze Shaw Pul Lath"), up to the Kûshk Shikâr ("Shah Fukeer Lath"), covering a distance of more than six miles, and embracing the lands of eighteen separate townships<sup>1</sup>. The second enterprise, which possesses considerable antiquarian interest, was the removal of the two Monoliths or *Lâts* of Asoka from their normal sites near Khizrabad and Meerut respectively, and their erection, the one in the *Kushk* of Firuzabad and the other in the Kûshk-1 Shikâr.<sup>2</sup> Both these monuments are inscribed with letters of the earliest-known archaic Pali characters, embodying the Edicts of King Asoka, the ardent propagator of Buddhism, promulgated by him in the 27th year of his reign (about 230 B.C.). The Khizrabad pillar also bears on its surface a later inscription of Visaladeva, *Vigraha Raja*, dated in Samvat 1220 (A.D. 1164).<sup>3</sup> On the arrival of these columns at Dehli, Indian

<sup>1</sup> Shams-i-Sirâj 'Afîf, Elliot's Historians, iii. 303

<sup>2</sup> Prinsep's Essays, i. 324, Journal Arch Soc Dehli (1849), p. 29

<sup>3</sup> Colebrooke, Asiatic Researches, viii. 130, Journ As Soc Bengal, 1864, p. xxxii, Prinsep's Essays, i. 325. There is an engraving of Firuz Shah's *Kotila*, with the column standing in the centre, copied from a drawing made in 1797, published in the seventh volume of the Asiatic Researches, p. 180. See also vol. i. p. 379.

"The golden pillar is a single shaft of pale pinkish sandstone, 42 feet 7 inches

Pandits were summoned from far and near to decipher and explain the ancient writings on their surfaces, but they, one and all, failed to detect any trace of the symbols of their own every-day writing in the prototype of sixteen centuries anterior use,<sup>1</sup> and it remained for that most prominent of our Indian archaeologists, James Prinsep, to rescue from oblivion the sacred alphabet of the Buddhists, to interpret the tenor of their then germinating professions of faith, and to reconstruct the progressive alphabets of India, whose modern derivatives are found to spread in so many varied forms over the entire continent of India, and to have penetrated into proximate lands, where the modern representatives of learning would assuredly deny their exotic origin.

Though the untutored eye may at first fail to recognize these identities, amid the conflicting agencies of crudities of vernacular definition, complications demanded by alien speech, and divergencies incident to materials and methods of writing, there can be no possible doubt but that, whether chiselled on stone, graven on metal, impressed upon clay, written with ink on primitive birch bark or more refined paper, or, as a final test, pierced with the iron style on

in length, of which the upper portion, 35 feet in length, has received a very high polish, while the remainder is left quite rough. Its upper diameter is 25 3 inches, and its lower diameter 33 8 inches."

The second of Asoka's Dehli pillars is now lying in five pieces near Hindú Rao's house, on the top of the hill to the N W of Sháhjáhánábád. The whole length of these pieces was 32 $\frac{1}{4}$  feet—upper diameter, 29 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches, lower diameter 33 44—Gen Cunningham, Arch. Report, 1862, pp 17, 19

A somewhat similar Monolith was erected by Firuz in the Fort of Hissár—Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, 1838, p 429

<sup>1</sup> It is easy to understand the difficulty these unimaginative interpreters may have felt with the old Láti alphabet, but they must have been more than ordinarily obtuse or intentionally reticent if they failed to read the inscription of Visala Deva, the characters of which are but little removed from the more recent varieties then current in the land.

Southern palm leaves, the entire range of existing characters now in use from Sind to Annam, however seemingly discordant, must all confess to the common parentage of some given form of the alphabet of the Pre Aryan indigenes, the earliest extant example of which, in its lapidary or rock inscription form, dates at the very lowest estimate in 250 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

The most important feat of Firuz Shih's reign was, however, the construction of a double system of canals to supply his new city of Hissar Firuzah, the head waters of which were drawn both from the Jumna and Sutlej, the former branch, but little modified, still supplies our British subjects in the nineteenth century along the full 200 miles of its ancient banks. The Sutlej section, which is stated to have joined the main line at Karnal, can still be indicated from Rupar to Sirhind.<sup>2</sup> The old line of the Jumna branch was carefully traced by Col. Colvin in 1833,<sup>3</sup> and may be followed on the modern maps from Badshah Mahal at the debouchement of the river from the outer range of the Himalaya, by Chicholi and Burjh to Karnal,<sup>4</sup> through the cut-

<sup>1</sup> J R A S 1, N S, p 466

<sup>2</sup> 'Line of levels between the Jumna and Sutlej Rivers' —Lieut Baker, Jour As Soc Bengal, 1840 p 688

<sup>3</sup> Jour As Soc Bengal, 1833 p 105

یک حوی ارل آب حون کشیده و حوی دوم اردہاہ لے آب  
ستلخ آورده ارل آب حون حاکم رہسراہ [رحواد var] و حوی  
العمانی [العجمی] دھاہ این هردو حوی ار اتصال کریاں سروں

آورده میان ہشتاد کروڑ کرڈہ در شعر حصار فیروزہ نرڈہ

—Shamsi Siraj Afif MS

We have a curious antiquarian document connected with the history of Firuz

ting below Uncha Samána, into the eastern branch of the Chitang river,<sup>1</sup> near Sufídún, and thence through the old bed of the Chitang to Hánṣi and Hissár. The introduction of the water of this canal into the city of Dehli, which is noted (partly in pencil) on the plan of Col Mackenzie as the "ancient canal of Firoz Sháh," dates in reality only from the time of 'Alí Murdan Khán, early in the 17th century.

Sháh's canals in the form of an official *Sawad* or grant of the Emperor Akbar, dated A H 978 the opening of which specifies "the Chitang Naddi by which Firúz Sháh Básdsháh 210 years ago brought water from the *ndás* and drains in the vicinity of Sádhaurah, at the foot of the hills to Hansi and Hissár" —Col Yule, *Jour As Soc Bengal*, 1846 p 214. Col Yule adds in a note, "Sádhaurah is a town in the Ambálah district, about twenty miles west of the Jumna. The river flowing past Sádhaurah is the Markanda, but the sources of the Chitang are only seven or eight miles distant.

Of Firúz's other great work for the supply of water for the environs of Dehli, we have only casual mention by Timúr, who, in speaking of the capture of the Fort of *Lo* 1, describes it as situated between the two rivers Jumna and Hundi, the latter of which is stated to be a large canal constructed by Firúz Sháh, taken from the Kalanadi, and connected with the Jumna opposite Firúzábád.

See also Col Colvin's *Notice, Jour As Soc Bengal*, II p 111.

<sup>1</sup> The Chitang was one of the sacred rivers of the Brahmins embalmed in "Manu," as "between the two divine rivers *Saraswati* and *Drishad cati* (Chitang) lies the tract of land which the sages have named *Brahmávartha* because it was frequented by gods" (II 17). "Kurukshtera" (modern Dehli), *Matsya* (on the Jumna), *Pa cálá* (Kanyakubja Kanaup), and *Surasena* (Mathurá), form the region called Brahmarshi, distinguished from Brahmarshi (II 19). See also Dr J. Muir, *J R A S* II, N S, pp 12, 18, Wilson, *Megha Duta*, pp 356 7-8.

The improved texts and translations of Timúr's memoirs, now available, enable us to fix with precision the site of the ancient city of Sarsuti which proves to be identical with that of the modern town of Sirsah, lat 29° 31, long 75° 6. We can readily follow Timúr's march upwards from Bhatnir to Sirsah, towards Fathábád, Agrowah, and onwards to Firúz Sháh's canal works about Sufídún.

COINS BEARING THE CONJOINED NAMES OF FIRUZ  
SHAH AND HIS SON FATH KHAN.

Firuz Sháh, ill-fitted as he was in many respects to fill an Oriental throne, was ever ready to avail himself of the aid of stronger and more determined minds; hence his placid abandonment of all virtual authority to those singularly efficient Hindú administrators, Khán-i-Jahán, father and son, of that designation, who for 37 years guided the destinies of the narrowed dominions of the sovereignty of Dehli, while the Sultán employed himself in the exercise of his taste for building, the laying out of gardens, and improving his private estate.<sup>1</sup> Some such feeling of the need of political support

<sup>1</sup> I have previously adverted to the innate resources of India. The following incident is highly illustrative, as showing the accumulations it was possible to get together during the lifetime of a single prosperous *sáh* — "The great wealth of 'Imád ud-dín has already been spoken of, it amounted to *kross*. The author was told that on one occasion bags were required for containing the coin, and 2,500 *tankahs* were expended in the purchase of the material, the cost of each bag being four *jital* . . . . When the accounts were brought before 'Imád ul Mulk, he objected to this extravagant outlay for bags, and directed that pits should be dug in the ground and the money placed therein . . . There were many rich *khdns* and *maliks* in the time of Firuz Sháh, but no five of them possessed the wealth of this one noble. It is said that he amassed thirteen *kross* (of *tankahs*) [130,000,000 = £13,000,000], but was avid in the acquisition of more. He held the fief of Ráprí, and looked very vigilantly after it. The clerks of the Exchequer (*dáwdn-i waṣdrat*) were afraid of him, and they restrained from calling him to account, so that in the course of years a large balance was due by him. This fact became known to the Sultán. . . . When 'Imád ul Mulk heard about the inquiry, he drew up a statement of his wealth, which he himself presented to the Sultán, who read it without making any observation, and returned it. . . . One day 'Imád-ul-Mulk brought a *kror* (of *tankahs*) [10,000,000 = £1,000,000] to Court, and when the Sultan cried out,

may have led him to invest his son, Fath Khán, with the insignia of royalty so early as A.H. 760,<sup>1</sup> and to adopt the unusual expedient of placing his name, in conjunction with his own, on the public currency. Extant money also seems to show that a parallel issue of a binominal coinage took place after Fath Khán's death, in favour of another son, Zafar, whose own son, Abúbakr, eventually succeeded to the *masnad* on the death of Ghíás-ud-dín Tughlak, the son of Fath Khán, in A.H. 791. Later in his reign, when Muhammad bin Firúz was formally associated in the government, a similar numismatic manifestation of Vice-regency was made.

Fath Khán was so effectively recognized as the heir-apparent, that we find the Egyptian Khalif *Abu'l Fath Al M'utazid billah*<sup>2</sup> forwarding him a special robe of honour on the occasion of Firúz Sháh's investiture;<sup>3</sup> and the coins themselves, though undated, bear record of this Pontiff's name and that of his successor, Abú Abdallah.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Bashír, what is this?' he replied that it was a small contribution (*chL*: 'alufah) for the use of the servants of the Court"—Elliot's *Historians*, vol. iii. p. 372

<sup>2</sup> Briggs's *Ferishtah*, i. 451

<sup>3</sup> The sixth of his line Date of inauguration, A.H. 753 See p. 258 *ante*

<sup>4</sup> The third chapter of the fourth book of Shams i Surj 'Afif's *Tárikh-i-Firúz Sháhi* contains a detailed account of the arrival at Dehlí of the emissaries of the Khalif, *أبو النعيم أبي بكر بن أبي الريح سليمان*, who were the bearers of a *Khífat* for Firúz Sháh. The narrative enters into the ceremony of the reception of this robe of honour, and enlarges upon the high compliment paid to the reigning Sultan in the voluntary act of the Khalif, as contrasted with the solicitation which had secured a similar concession for Muhammad bin Tughlak. The title bestowed upon the Sultan on this occasion, and which he himself repeats, with pride in his own autobiography, was *سيد السلاطين*. Firuz does not use this title on his coins, but, as has been seen, adopts the more imposing warrior title of the early days of Mahmúd of Ghazni "سيف أمير المؤمنين" "Sword of the Commander of the Faithful" The Sháhzádah Fath Khán and the *ra'iz* Khán Jahán were invested with *Khífats* at the same time

<sup>4</sup> No. 7 Accession, A.H. 763

Fath Khán died in 776 A.H., and was buried in state by his father, who, with pious care, erected near his tomb, known as the *Kadam Sharif*, a dependent Mosque and a *Madrasah*, and likewise excavated a reservoir, which exists to this day<sup>1</sup>

Coins of *Firuz Shah* and Fath Khán

No 240 Gold Weight, 168 grs Unique

|                         |              |
|-------------------------|--------------|
| • في رسم الامام         | شاد          |
| امير المؤمن             | فتح خان فرور |
| ابو الفتح المعصود بالله | حل الله طلله |
| حدت حلاته               | وحلاته       |

The letters of the legends of these coins are very imperfectly formed, and the words are arranged with but scant regard to legible sequence, while the Arabic invocation is altogether wild in its tenor

No 241 Silver and Copper Weight, 136 grs

فتح خان فرور شاد حل الله طلله و حلاته

في رسم الامام امير المؤمن ابو الفتح المعصود

بالله حلت حلاته

No 242 Silver and Copper Weight, 138 grs Rare

Obverse as in No 241

• Reverse في رسم الامام امير المؤمن ابو عبد الله حلدت حلاته

No 243 Silver and Copper Weight, 52 grs

Smaller coins of similar types

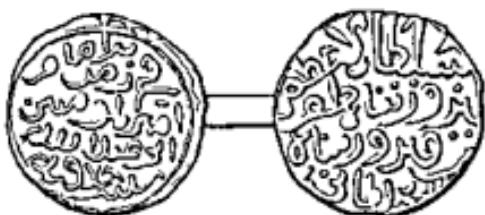
<sup>1</sup> Syud Ahmad p 37, *Jour Asiatique*, 1860 p 411

No 244 Silver and Copper Weight, 139 grs Variety of No 241  
 نسخان سریر شاد \* حل طلّ حل حلال صربت عدد السکه—  
 Reverse as No 242

COINS BEARING THE JOINT NAMES OF FIRUZ  
 AND HIS SON ZAFAR

The special coins of Firuz Sháh, incorporating the name of his second son Zafar, require but brief notice after the combinations already brought under review in the parallel instance of the binominal coins of Fath Khan. It will be seen that they constitute a very complete series in the various metals, and, though usually undated, they may be taken, in their material form, to represent a fairly sustained and continuous issue. Unlike the pieces of the elder brother, which, in their crude legends, show signs of provincial treatment, the coins of Zafar coincide closely in their general aspect with the ordinary money of the reigning monarch, and in so far fully bear out the declaration on their surfaces of a Dehlí mintage. There is one point in regard to the specimens quoted below which seems to call for explanation, which is the appearance of the date of 791 A.H. on No 247, a period when Zafar must obviously have been in his grave, but we have already had experience of the unreserve with which the Dehlí mint masters latterly put forth posthumous coins, under the possibly double aim of utilizing the already executed dies of the obverse, supplemented by a confessedly responsible date of issue on the newly sunk die of the reverse, as well as in the not unreasonable desire to perpetuate a specific coinage that had already achieved good credit with the public at large.

No 245 Gold Weight, 168.4 grs Unique Col Guthrie



في رسم الامام

السلطان الاطم

امير المؤمنين

سرور شاه طغر

ابو عبد الله

س سرور شاه

حدت حلاقه

السلطانى

No 246 Silver (?) Weight 140 grs New variety

Mr E C Bayley

Obverse— سرور شاه طغر سلطانى \* دهلي \*

Reverse— الحلمه امير المؤمنين حدت حلاقه \*

No 247 (pl iv fig 116) Silver and Copper Weight, 136 grs  
A H 791

Obverse— سرور شاه طغر سلطانى صرت حصرت دهلي \*

Reverse— الحلمه ابو عبد الله حدت حلاقه 791

No 248 (pl iv fig 124) Silver and Copper Weight, 78 grs

ابو عبد الله

سرور شاه

حدت حلاقه

طغران

سرور شاه

No 249 Copper Weight, 78 grs New variety

|              |         |
|--------------|---------|
| الخلبي       | پرورد   |
| ابو عبد الله | شاد طغر |
| خلد حلب      | السلطان |

,TWENTY FIRST KING (A H 790-791, A D 1388-1388)

Ghiás ud din Tughlak Shah II, the son of Fath Khán, was formally appointed successor to the throne, and invested with the direct administration of the State, on the defeat of Násir ud din Muhammad bin Tíruz, in A H 789. Immediately on Tíruz's death, on the 18th Ramazán, 790 A H, he assumed the full insignia of royalty. His earliest efforts were directed towards the capture of the late associate King, the *Shah-ud-láh* Muhammad, but his generals were unsuccessful in their pursuit, and after some manoeuvring in the hills of Sirmur, the Prince made good his retreat to the strong Fort of Nagarkot, where he was permitted to remain undisturbed.

In the mean time Tughlak Sháh had been surrendering himself to unbridled dissipation in his capital leaving the management of the kingdom to the chance offices of the ministers by whom he was surrounded. Eventually a party, headed by the Naib Vazir, *Rukn Chand*, put forward Abu-bakr Shah the son of Zafar Khan, as a claimant for the throne, and Tughlak Sháh, in attempting to escape from his palace towards the Jumna, was overtaken and killed on the 21st of Safar, A H 791.

No 250 (pl iv fig 126) Silver and Copper Weight, 136 grs  
A.H. 790

|                           |            |
|---------------------------|------------|
| الخليفة أبو عبد الله حلدت | تعليق شاد  |
| حلفته ٧٩٠                 | سلطان صريت |
|                           | حضرت دهلي  |

No 251 Silver and Copper (the silver predominates)  
Weight, 164 grs New variety A.H. 790

|               |           |
|---------------|-----------|
| سلطان         | تعليق شاد |
| امير المؤمنين |           |
| ٧٩٠           |           |

No 252 Silver and Copper Weight, 60 grs

Obverse تعليق شاد سلطان حلد ملكه

Reverse أبو عبد الله حلدت حلفته

No 253 Silver and Copper (excess of copper) Weight, 50 grs  
New variety A.H. 790

|              |           |
|--------------|-----------|
| أبو عبد الله | تعليق شاد |
| ٧٩٠          | سلطان     |

No 254 Copper Weight, 68 grains

Obverse تعليق شاد سلطان

Reverse دار الملك دهلي

## TWENTY-SECOND KING (A.H. 791-792; A.D. 1388-1389).

Rukní Chand having raised Abúbakr bin Zafer Khán to the throne, naturally constituted himself prime minister, but this dignity scarcely satisfied his ambition, and he shortly proceeded to intrigue, with a view to supplant his own nominee; but the nobles, who were staunch to Abúbakr, getting information of his designs, took the initiative, and put him to death, with many of those upon whose support he had relied. The new king's power now became consolidated in the capital; but the murder of Sultán Sháh, the governor of Samána, encouraged Muhammad Sháh to issue from his stronghold of Nagarkót, and eventually to advance in force upon Dehli. In the irregular engagements which took place at Firúzábád, Muhammad Sháh was unsuccessful, and retired into the Doáb; but being reinforced, he again encountered Abúbakr at Kandali, with a similar result; a third time he tried his fortune, at Paniput (his troops being commanded by his son), with an equal want of success. The Sultán, however, was unable to follow up his victories in an effectual manner, as it was unsafe to quit the capital which contained so many doubtful adherents; indeed, on the occasion of his absence in Jumáda'l awwal, 792 A.H., Muhammad absolutely made his way into the city, from which, however, he was speedily ejected. Shortly after this, Islám Khán, one of the most prominent of the old Firúz Sháhi adherents, quarrelled with Abúbakr, and invited Muhammad to join him at Dehli. The Sultán's case now became hopeless, and on the 19th Ramazán, 792 A.H., Muhammad was formally installed as supreme monarch at Firúzábád, and Abúbakr, after some

ineffectual fighting, in Muharram, 793 A.H., surrendered at discretion, and died in prison at Meerut.

No 255 (pl. IV fig. 129) Silver and Copper Weight, 134 grs  
A.H. 791, 792, 793

|              |                 |
|--------------|-----------------|
| العلمه اسو   | ابوiker شاد     |
| عبد الله حلت | بن طرس فرور شاد |
| حلفه ٧٩١     | سلطاني          |

No 256 Silver and Copper Weight, 47 grs Small coin  
Obverse and reverse legends similar to No 255

|                               |                        |
|-------------------------------|------------------------|
| No 257 Copper Weight, 114 grs | A.H. 792               |
| Obverse—In a square area,     | ابوiker شاد            |
| Margin—                       | طرس فرور شاد سلطاني    |
| Reverse—                      | نایب امير المؤمنين ٧٩٢ |

|                                          |             |
|------------------------------------------|-------------|
| No 258 Copper Weight, 165 grs. Imperfect |             |
| Obverse—In a circular area,              | ابوiker شاد |
| Margin—                                  | فرور شاد *  |
| Reverse as No 257                        |             |

|                                            |              |
|--------------------------------------------|--------------|
| No 259 Copper Weight, 140 grs. New variety | A.H. 792     |
| نایب                                       | ابوiker شاد  |
| امير المؤمنين                              | طرس فرور شاد |
| حلفت حلاسته                                | سلطاني       |
| ٧٩٢                                        |              |

No 260 Copper Weight, 58 grs

Obverse— ابو بکر شاہ طغر سلطانی

Reverse— الحلیعہ ابو عبید اللہ حددت حلاجہ

## POSTHUMOUS COIN OF ABUBAKR

One specimen of the coins of the identical type No 260 is dated in clearly formed figures ۸۱۳ 813 A H (My cabinet)

## TWENTY-THIRD KING (A H 792, A D 1389)

The Sháhzádah Muhammad Khán, son of Fírúz, defeated the arrogant Vazir Khán-i-Jahán, in Ruyab, A H 789, and in the month of Shabán he was associated with his father in the government of the kingdom, which the failing strength of the Sultán did not permit him efficiently to control<sup>1</sup>. The

<sup>1</sup> This appointment was attended with many of the forms and ceremonies of regal inauguration. The *Khutbah* was read in the names of the two kings

(در مساحت حکومت تمام بلاد مملکت حکمه سام هر دو شاه می  
حوالده در ماد شعلان سه المدکور شادراده محمد حان در قصر

حکانها حلسوں فرمون) Tárikh-i Mubárik Sháhi MS

Shams-i Síráj Afif makes also an incidental reference to this contemporary nomination. Book 1 cap 18 "On the names used in the *Khutbah*. It had been a rule among the Sultáns of Dehli that the name of the reigning monarch only was mentioned in the prayers of Sabbaths and festivals, and no reference was made to former Sultáns. When Sultán Fírúz came to the throne, they were about to follow the same rule and to mention his name only in the *Khutbah*, but he disapproved of the omission of former kings, and ordered that a *Khutbah* should be said first in the names of those kings, and then one in which his own name should be mentioned. In accordance with this decree, the Sultáns in the

Prince was, however, unable to maintain his position in the capital, and had to retire to the hills of Sírmúr, where he was able to hold his own against the armies of his regnant nephew, Tughlak Sháh II. After the accession of Abubakr, he obtained possession of Samána, and being reinforced from other quarters, he considered himself sufficiently strong to assume anew the ensigns of royalty (6th Rabi'ul Ákhir, 791 A.H.), and further to attack Abubakr at Firuzábád in Jumáda'l awwal, 791 A.H. In this attempt he failed, but, undeterred, he recruited his forces, and again encountered Abúbakr at Kandahá, in Shabán of the same year, with a similar want of success. A third time, with a like result, the troops of Muhammad, under his son Humáyún, met the Sultán's army near Paníput (in Muharram, 792 A.H.). Still trusting to the turns of fortune, Muhammad absolutely entered the metropolis during the momentary absence of Abúbakr, but was not in sufficient force to profit by his advantage. His eventual elevation to the throne was due to the defection of Islám Khán, one of the influential leaders of the anomalous institution of the "Slaves of Firuz Sháh," who quarrelled with Abúbakr, and invited Muhammad to join him, and on the 19th Ramazan, 792 A.H., the son of Firuz once again entered Dehli as its Sultán.

following list were specially selected to be named in the *kutbah* — 1. Sultán Sháháb ud din Muhammad bin Sám, 2. Shams ud din Altamsh, 3. Násir ud din Mahmúd, 4. Ghiás ud din Balban, 5. Jalál ud din Firuz, 6. 'Alá ud-dín Muhammad Khíjí, 7. Kutb ud-dín Mubárak, 8. Ghiás ud din Tughlak Sháh, 9. Sultán Muhammad *Adl*, 10. Firuz Sháh. Two names were selected to be mentioned after that of Sultán Firuz Sháh viz., Muhammad bin Firuz Sháh and his son Alá ud dín Sikandár Sháh, and till the end of the reign these names were mentioned in the prayers. — Elliot's *Historians*, m. 292, and MSS. This last name is clearly an interpolation of the author's as his work progressed under succeeding kings. He speaks in a subsequent passage, of Timúr's admiring the monuments of Dehli in 801 A.H. (p. 353).

In 794 A.H., Harsung, the Rája of Etáwah, and other Hindú Zamindars, revolted, but were defeated by the army of Islám Khan, and the Sultán himself proceeded to Etáwah and demolished the Fort, from thence he went on to Kanauj and Dalamaú, and commenced the foundations of a new city at Jalesur,<sup>1</sup> to which he gave the designation of Muhammadabad. Suspicions having been fomented as to the fidelity of Islám Khan, he was finally condemned to death, on the false testimony of his own nephew, *Jajun*, an unconverted Hindu, and Khwajah Jahan was appointed Vazir in his stead.

In 795 A.H., the Sultan defeated Bahadur Nahur, who had been bold enough to ravage the country up to the gates of Dehli, but on his return to his new capital, he died of a fever in Rabi'ul akhir, A.H. 798.

#### COINS OF MUHAMMAD BIN FIRÚZ AS JOINT KING

No 261 (pl. IV fig. 135) Impure Silver Weight, 167 grs  
A.H. 790

Obverse—*محمد شاد سور شاه سلطانی*

Reverse { *ابو عبد الله*  
Centre,

*حدت حلاقتہ صربت سخرت دہلی* Margin, 790+

No 262 Copper Weight, 67 grs Unique My cabinet

Obverse—*سور شاد سلطانی*

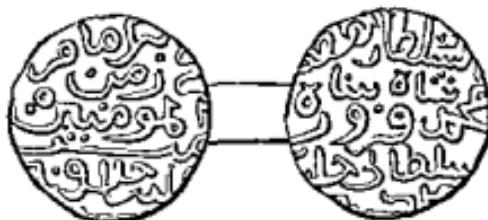
Reverse—*محمد شاد سلطانی*

The specimen of No 265, dated 790 A.H., must also be accepted as having formed an example of the Regency currency.

<sup>1</sup> Nizám ud dín Ahmad has *حمسر* and Ferishtah has *حمسر*, but the Tárikh-i Mubárik Sháhi has *حست*.

## MUHAMMAD BIN FIUZ's OWN COINS •

No 263 Gold Weight, 170 grs Very rare Col Guthrie



|               |                   |
|---------------|-------------------|
| في رسم الامام | السلطان الاعظم    |
| امير المؤمنين | محمد شاه فرور شاه |
| حلفته         | سلطانى حلفت       |
| ملكته         |                   |

No 264 (pl iv fig 134) Silver Weight, 173 grs  
(Marsden, Nos DCCXIX, DCCXXI, B M)A second Weight, 171.5 grs Mr E C Bayley A H 793  
Obverse—السلطان الاعظم ابو الحامد محمد شاه فرور شاه سلطانى—  
Reverse—في رسم الامام امير المؤمنين حلفته 793No 265 Silver and Copper Weight, 140 grs  
A H 790, 792, 794

|               |          |
|---------------|----------|
| الحلقة اسو    | سلطانى   |
| عند الله حلفت | فرور شاه |
| حلفته 793     | محمد شاه |

No 267 Copper. Weight, 68 6 grains Small coins.  
A.H. 793, 794, 795.

|           |          |
|-----------|----------|
| دار الملك | محمد شاه |
| دهلي      | سلطاني   |
| ٧٩٣       |          |

No 268. Copper. Weight, 30 grs exact weight

|       |      |
|-------|------|
| بحضرت | محمد |
| دهلي  | شاد  |

No. 269 Copper Weight, 52 grs

محمد شاه فيروز شاه سلطان—

Reverse— الحليفة ابو عبد الله

#### POSTHUMOUS COINS OF MUHAMMAD BIN FIRUZ

No 270 Silver Weight, 174 grs A.H. 817, 818<sup>1</sup>  
(B.M. and my cabinet)

|               |                     |
|---------------|---------------------|
| في روس        | السلطان الاعظم      |
| امير المؤمنين | ابو الحافظ محمد شاه |
| حليفة حليفة   | فيروز شاه           |
| ٨١٨           | سلطاني              |

<sup>1</sup> Marsden detected these exceptional dates on his own coins. He says, "Yet a difficulty, that I am quite unable to explain, presents itself on some of these specimens, where we perceive, in characters rude indeed, but sufficiently distinct the numeral figures ٨١٧ on one, and ٨١٨ (8)18 on a second" (p. 542).

No 271 Copper Similar to No 267 A.H. 801, 804

These later specimens vary in the substitution of سلطان in the place  
of سلطان

There are no extant inscriptions bearing the name of Muhammad bin Firuz, but the erection of his father's tomb on the margin of the Hauz-i-Khas, which is ordinarily attributed to his filial devotion, is associated with a record of the father's name, on the inner semicircle of the archway, while the outer band or superimposed arch displays the titles and designation of Sikandar bin Bahlol *Lodi*, who seems, in the spirit of Firuz himself, to have repaired the original edifice, with many other monuments of Dehlí, in 913 A.H. Both these inscriptions are stuccoed in Indian *Chunam*, or fine lime plaster, in alto relief, and, as might have been expected, have suffered considerably from the combined effects of time and climate. The following words may, however, still be traced in the primary legend —

\* سلطان السلاطین فرور شاہ طاب ثراؤ و حمل الحسنه مشوار \*

In immediate proximity to this tomb are Muhammad Sháh's own grave and that of his son Sikandar Sháh

<sup>1</sup> Syud Ahmad, facsimile, No 23, pp 32 41, 61, Journal Asiatique (1860), p 410. Timur mentions this tomb in his memoirs, and expresses his admiration of the reservoir, which he describes as a bow shot square — Petis de la Croix, cap xix Elliot's Historians, iii. pp 441, 501. The site of this tank is not marked on the accompanying plan, it may possibly have reverted to a similar state of disrepair to that which Firuz speaks of (p 290) when the first English survey was made. The adjoining village still goes by the name of Hauz-i-Khás — Jour As Soc Bengal, 1870, p 81

## TWENTI FOURTH KING (A H 795, A D 1392)

Húmáyun, the son of Nasir ud din Muhammad, assumed, on his accession, the designation of Sikandar Shah. The historical record of the rule of this Sovereign is confined to the announcement, that he attained regal honours, and enjoyed them for the brief space of forty five days<sup>1</sup>

No 272. Silver and Copper mixed Weight, 142 grs A H 795

Obverse— سکدر شاد محمد شاد سلطانی

Reverse— الحلفه ابو عد الله حلت حلاهه

No 273 Copper Weight, 134 grs A H 795

Obverse { سکدر شاد  
Centre, Margin, سرت سخت دهلي

Reverse— ۷۹۵ هـ امر المؤمنين

No 274 (pl. xv fig 142) Copper Weight 67 grs A H 795

Obverse— سکدر شاد سلطانی

Reverse— ۷۹۵ هـ دارالملك دهلي

No 275 Copper Weight, 30 grs (exact weight)

|      |      |
|------|------|
| سخت  | شاد  |
| دهلي | سکدر |

<sup>1</sup> From the 17th of Rabi ul awwal when his father died or more exactly from the 19th when he ascended the throne to the 5th of Jumád al awwal 795 A.H. —Tabakát-i Akbari MS

## TWENTY-FIFTH KING (A.H. 795-815; A.D. 1392-1412).

Of all the feeble inheritors of Fírúz Sháh's family honours, Mahmúd bin Muhammad was perhaps the most insignificant — a very shadow of a king. The earliest recognition of his nominal supremacy was associated with evil omens, and the normal weakness of the central government of the empire was further augmented by insurrections, which sprang up on all sides. Prominent among the rest, was the important defection of the *rasír*, Khwájah Jahán, who, in this act, laid the foundations of the temporarily powerful kingdom of Jaunpúr. In 797 A.H., a new claimant to the throne was advanced by S'aádat Khán,<sup>1</sup> in the person of Nuṣrat

<sup>1</sup> S'aádat Khán, one of the leading nobles of Mahmúd Sháh's newly improvised Court, accompanied the Sultán in his expedition to Gwalior, in 796 A.H., and discovering a plot against his own life, quickly disposed of the leading conspirators, with the exception of Mullá Ikbál Khán, who was destined to play so prominent a part in the events of the period, and who succeeded in escaping to Dehlí, where he joined Muķarrab Khán, who had been left in charge of the metropolis. In the strange turns of Indian politics, S'aádat Khán, carrying the Sultán with him, proceeded to besiege Dehlí, but some delay occurring in its capture, the Sultán was induced to take refuge within the walls. This encouraged the besieged to risk a battle, in which they were signally defeated, but S'aádat Khán was not sufficiently strong to capture the place, so he hit upon the novel expedient of setting up a king of his own, and selected Nuṣrat Khán, who stood in the same family relationship to Fírúz as Mahmúd himself, and duly installed him as king in the city of Fírúzbád. Some of the old slaves of Fírúz Sháh and other influential parties in that town having made overtures to Mahmúd, S'aádat Khán found his position untenable, and retired with a scanty following within the walls of Dehlí. Muķarrab Khán pretended to receive him with amity and overt attention, but took an early opportunity of putting him to death.

Khán, a son of Fath Khán, and grandson of Firúz. His supporters actually took and retained possession of the new capital of Firúzábád, while Mahmúd and his followers were confined to the triple town of Dehli.<sup>1</sup> In this anomalous condition matters continued for the space of three entire years, each being in a measure king, and each holding his own dependent provinces of the empire:<sup>2</sup> meanwhile, constant and sanguinary encounters occurred between the troops of the rival factions. At length, Mullú Ik'bál Khán, who, in fit keeping with the whole of this strange state of political existence, had remained an observant and neutral spectator, first deceived, and, for the time, ruined Nusrat Sháh, and then succeeded in getting possession of the person of Mahmúd, in whose name he thenceforth pretended to rule. This irregular administration was, however, put an end to by the advance of the celebrated Timúr.<sup>3</sup> The defeat of the Indian

<sup>1</sup> Under Mukarrab Khán, Bahádur Náhír had charge of Old Dehli (جہلیہ), and Mullú Ik'bál Khán commanded the Fort of Siri, the intermediate Jahán-pánah constituted the more open royal head-quarters —Tárikh-i Mubárik Sháh.

<sup>2</sup> Mahmúd's districts at this period are specified as—1 The Doáb (or portions of it S.E. of Dehli), 2 Sambal, 3 Pániput, 4 Jhujhur, and 5 Rohtak —Tárikh-i Mubárik Sháh MS.

<sup>3</sup> Timúr, in his autobiography entitled "Malfuzat-i Timúri," contributes much curious information as to the state of India at the period of his invasion. Many of the details regarding the routes and the distribution of the strong places are of considerable interest, but his account of the capture of Dehli claims distinct notice. He tells us that in the engagement with the forces of Mahmúd and Mullú Ik'bál Khán, the Indian troops bore themselves bravely, and showed no want of courage. He goes on to describe his entry into the capital and his special directions that the *Khutbah* should be repeated in his name "in the pulpits and mosques of the city of Dehli," and he relates, with an evident feeling of the need of justification, the sack and utter ruin of the three towns, and the ruthless extermination of their inhabitants, for which he condescends to give no less than five very insufficient reasons. His narrative proceeds—"By the will of God, and by no wish or direction of mine, all the three cities of Dehli, by name Siri, Jahán-pánah, and Old Dehli, had been plundered. The *Khutbah* of my sove-

army, the surrender and subsequent merciless sack of Dehli followed; and, for five days, the Mughal conqueror continued feasting while his troops plundered and destroyed the hapless citizens of the ill-fated city; and, to finish the inconsistency, innate in the barbarian mind, "on the day of his departure he offered up to the Divine Majesty his sincere and humble tribute of grateful praise" <sup>1</sup>:

The capital of Hindústán remained in a state of complete anarchy, to which were superadded the horrors of famine and pestilence, for the space of two months after the departure of Timúr. At the end of this period it was taken possession of by Nuṣrat Sháh, and shortly afterwards

reigny, which is an assurance of safety and protection, had been read in the city. It was therefore my earnest wish that no evil might happen to the people of the place. But it was ordained by God that the city should be ruined. He therefore inspired the infidel inhabitants with a spirit of resistance, so that they brought on themselves that fate which was inevitable. When my mind was no longer occupied with the destruction of the people of Dehli, I took a ride round the cities Siri is a round city (*shahr*). Its buildings are lofty. They are surrounded by fortifications (*laṭāḥ*), built of stone and brick, and they are very strong. Old Dehli also has a similar strong fort, but it is larger than that of Siri. From the fort of Siri to that of Old Dehli, which is a considerable distance, there runs a strong wall, built of stone and cement. The part called Jahān panāh is situated in the midst of the inhabited city (*shahr-i-dāddan*). The fortifications of the three cities have thirty gates. Jahān-panāh has thirteen gates, seven on the south side bearing towards the east, and six on the north side bearing towards the west. Siri has seven gates, four towards the outside and three on the inside towards Jahān-panāh. The fortifications of Old Dehli have ten gates, some opening to the exterior and sufficient towards the interior of the city. When I was tired of examining the setting up <sup>2</sup> into the *Masjid-i-ydmī*, where a congregation was assembled, <sup>3</sup> family relations, *shāshikas*, and other of the principal Musulmāns, with the <sup>4</sup> as king in the <sup>5</sup> parts of the city, to whom they had been a protection and <sup>6</sup> other influential <sup>7</sup> an officer to protect their quarter of the city, and guard them <sup>8</sup> adat Khán found <sup>9</sup> —Elliot's *Historians*, iii. p 447. See also Zafar Nāmah, p 6 <sup>10</sup> in the walls of Dehli de la Croix's translation, book iv cap xx

<sup>1</sup> Price's *Miltanext* attention, but in p 267. This futile ceremony took place in Firuz Sháh's Mo<sup>2</sup> d.

it again passed into the hands of Mullu Ikbál Khán, whose sway at this time extended but little beyond its walls, the provinces being, in effect, independent under their several governors, who, one and all, held themselves as kings<sup>1</sup> Ikbál Khán nevertheless, succeeded in gradually enlarging his boundaries, and in 804 A.H. was joined by Mahmud (who had fled at the sack of Dehli to Gujárat), on whom he amiably bestowed his countenance and protection Ikbál Khán now undertook an expedition against Ibráhím Sháh Sharí, the Sultan of Jaunpur, who had lately succeeded his brother Mubarak, and Mahmud, thinking to improve his position, deserted his guardian, and went over to Ibrahim. He was, however, received with but small encouragement, and, finally, was allowed by both parties to establish himself as a sort of local king of Kanauj. On the death of Ikbál Khán, which took place in an action with Khizr Khán, the governor of Multan in Jumáda'l awwal, 808 A.H., Mahmud was again invited to Dehli by Daulat Khán *Lodi* and other men of influence, but "deficient both in sense and courage," he made but little profit of his restored rights, and, surrendering himself to dissipation, he unconcernedly allowed the various local governors to fight their own battles for the few districts

:

<sup>1</sup> DISTRIBUTION OF THE PATHÁN EMPIRE AFTER THE INVASION OF TÍMUR IN  
A.H. 801 A.D. 1398

|                  |                                                               |
|------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| Mullu Ikbál Khán | Dehli and the Doáb                                            |
| Zafar Khán.      | Gujárat                                                       |
| Khizr Khán       | Multán Da'bálpúr Sind (سندھ)                                  |
| Mahmód Khán      | Mahábáh, Kalpi                                                |
| Khwájáh i Jahán  | Kanauj Oude Karrah, Dálamsu Sundaláh<br>Bahrach Bahár Jaunpúr |
| Diláwar Khán     | Dhár *                                                        |
| Ghálib Khán      | Samanah.                                                      |
| Shams Khán       | Bíana.                                                        |

which still confessed a nominal allegiance to the throne of Dehli. Mahmud died in Rajab, 815 A.D.

No 276 (pl. IV fig. 143) Weight, 174 grs

في رمس الامام  
امير المؤمنين  
حلدت حلاته

السلطان الاعظم  
ابو الحامد محمود شاد  
محمد شاد فرور شاد  
سلطانى

No 277 (pl. IV fig. 144) Silver (impure) Weight, 141 grs  
A.D. 795, 796

*Obverse*—محمود شاد محمد شاد سلطانى

*Reverse*—الحلمة أبو عبد الله حلدت حلاته ٧٩٦

No 278 Copper Weight, 140 grs A.D. 798, 800, 804, 813, 815

*Obverse* { *Centre*, محمود شاد  
                  *Margin*, سلطان صربت سحرت دهلى

*Reverse*—٨١٣ نايم امير المؤمنين

No 279 Copper Weight 56 grs

*Obverse*—Legend as in No 277

*Reverse*—الحلمة امير المؤمنين حلدت حلاته

No. 280 (pl. iv. fig. 147). Copper. Weight, 68 grs. A.H. 795, 797, 798, 800, 801, 802, 815 (816,<sup>1</sup> Posthumous coin; several examples of this date are known).

*Obverse*—سَمْوَدْ شَاهْ سُلْطَانِي

*Reverse*—دَارُ الْمُلْكَ دَهْلِي ۷۹۵

No. 281. Copper. Weight, 32 grs.

بَخْرَت

شَاهْ

دَهْلِي

سَمْوَدْ

<sup>1</sup> The date of the death of Mahmúd is fixed by Ferishtah in Zí'l k'adah, 814 A.H., and the assumption of power by Daulat Khán Lódi is affirmed, by the same author, to have taken place on the 1st of Muharram, 816 A.H. A difficulty is suggested in the very fact of the capital, and the country dependent upon it, having, as thus stated, remained for nearly fourteen months without even a nominal ruler. This anomaly is not attempted to be met by the compiler in question, nor is even its existence noticed by subsequent commentators (See Bombay text, i p 222, Briggs, vol. I p 504, Elphinstone, vol. II. p 80)

The point at issue seems to be authoritatively settled at rest by the author of the Tárikh-i Mubárik Sháh, who is very full and elaborate in his dates bearing upon the conflicting events of this troubled period, when a king's life was otherwise a matter of almost secondary importance. His text is most clear as to the month of Rajab, A.H. 815, and he adds emphatically—

مُدَّةُ مُلْكٍ أَوْ بَاهِنٍ هُمَّهُ تَزْلِزلُ وَانْقَلَابُ بِسْتَ سَالٍ وَدُوَّ مَاهٍ بَوْنٍ

has now been reached in the history of that dynasty when the reverse process of disintegration had already made considerable progress and the coins of local governors, or their successors who had achieved independence began to obtrude themselves in the general circulation. I do not propose to follow out the minor gradations of these local mintages, but where opportunities offer, I may, perhaps, advantageously notice representative numismatic illustrations of the advance of the more important kingdoms thus emancipated from central control.

The earliest contemporaneous issue, and that which is most closely connected with the decadence of Dehli, is the money of the Sultáns of Jaunpur, whose reigning representative Ibráhím has been already noticed in connexion with the affairs of Mahmud and Mullu Ikbál Khan.

The following is a list of the dynasty of the independent Kings of Jaunpur, with their dates of accession —

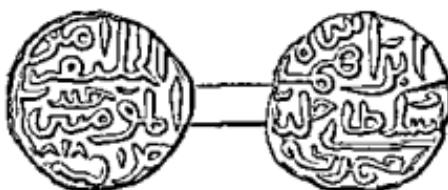
#### THE KINGS OF JAUNPUR

| A.H. | A.D. |                                                                                                                                    |
|------|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 796  | 1393 | Khwájah 1-Jahan vazír of Muhammad bin Firuz                                                                                        |
| 802  | 1399 | Mubarak Sháh his adopted son (مبارک شاہ) (Mbarak Sháh)                                                                             |
| 804  | 1401 | Ibráhím Sháh <i>Sarki</i>                                                                                                          |
| 814  | 1440 | Mahmud Sháh bin Ibráhím Sháh                                                                                                       |
| 862  | 1457 | Muhammad Sháh (Bhikun Khán) bin Mahmud                                                                                             |
| 862  | 1457 | Husain Shah (defeated by Buhlol Lodi in 879 A.H. <sup>1</sup> )                                                                    |
| 879  | 1471 | Barbak bin Buhlol Lodi placed in charge of Jaunpur                                                                                 |
|      |      | On Buhlol Lodi's death Barbak opposes Sikandar bin Buhlol but is defeated in A.H. 881, when Jaunpur again becomes subject to Dehli |

<sup>1</sup> Husain is permitted to retain some outlying districts, and finally seeks refuge with Alauddín of Bengal.

## SPECIMEN COIN OF THE JAUNPUR MINT

No 286 Silver and Copper Weight, 140 grs A.H. 818



Obverse—أبراهيم شاه سلطان حملت مملكته

Reverse—الخليفة امير المؤمن حملت حملة

Marsden has engraved and described a very full list of Jaunpur coins, comprising the subjoined series (1-6), which I improve from Col. Guthrie's rich collection, the latter specimens are discriminated by *italic* letters (*a-h*) —

1 \*Gold Weight, 148.5 grs B.M.

Obverse—السلطان الاعظم شمس الدسا والدين ابوالمطر ابراهيم شاه

سلطان حملت مملكته

Reverse *{* Ares, Margin, صرب هدا الديار في سه احد

a Gold Weight, 177.3 grs A.H. 840 Col. Guthrie

The chief peculiarity of this gold coinage is the elongation of the down strokes of the leading letters on the obverse, so that the upper surface presents a similarity to a modern Organ front, with its array of parallel pipes, the characters of the legends are also exceptional, and are fashioned in straggling and imperfect outlines, in a manner altogether unworthy of a civilized mint

2 Silver and Copper Weight, 36 grs Pl. xxxvii fig. xxxii  
A.H. 822 irregular dates up to 824 836, and 844

Obverse—أبراهيم شاه سلطان

Reverse—الخليفة ابوالفتح

3 Silver and Copper Weight, 154 grs. Pl. xxxvii fig. xxxii A.H. 813, 826  
Specimen similar to that above engraved under No 286 of the present series

b MAHMUD Gold. Weight, 175.2 grs A.H. 855 Type as in No 1

4 Silver and Copper Pl. xxxvii fig. DCCLI A.H. 845 846 849 850

محمد شاد ابن ابراهيم شاد سلطان حلبت مملكته—

الخلفية امر المؤمن حلبت حلبت حلبت حلبت حلبت حلبت حلبت

c Copper Weight, 144 grs A.H. 844, etc

Obverse { Circular area, محمد شاد

{ Margin بن ابراهيم شاد سلطان

Reverse—A.F. نائب امر المؤمن

5 Silver and Copper Varieties Nos. DCCLIV and DCCLV A.H. 840

d MUHAMMAD Silver and Copper A.H. 861, 862, 863

Obverse—

محمد شاد بن محمد شاد بن ابراهيم شاد سلطان حلبت مملكته

الخلفية امر المؤمن حلبت حلبت حلبت حلبت حلبت حلبت

e MUHAMMAD Copper A.H. 861

Obverse { Circular area, محمد شاد

{ Margin بن محمد شاد بن ابراهيم شاد سلطان

Reverse—A.F. نائب امر المؤمن

f HUSAYN Gold. Weight, 180.3 grs

Type as in No. 1, but with the entire omission of the marginal record

g Variety Copper A.H. 865

Obverse { Circular area, حسن شاد

{ Margin بن محمد شاد بن ابراهيم شاد سلطان

Reverse—A.F. نائب امر المؤمن

h Copper No. DCCLVI A.H. 880, 886 897, 900

حسن شاد بن محمد شاد بن ابراهيم شاد سلطان حلبت حلبت

الخلفية ابو عبد الله امر المؤمن حلبت حلبت حلبت حلبت

General Cunningham, who, in his earnest pursuit of the varied branches of Indian antiquarian lore, has devoted some attention to the provincial mintages of Jaunpur, informs me that coins of Mahmud are extant in continuous suites, dating from A H 844 to A H 863, and that during the concluding *three* years of his reign, in apparent imitation of Firuz Shah, he associated his eldest son, Muhammad, in the ostensible government of his kingdom. This concurrence of power is so far numismatically demonstrated, as to enable us to quote a record of the name of the son upon pieces purporting to have been issued from the mint of the Eastern Metropolis during the years 861, 862, and 863 A H.

The subjoined series of assays were likewise conducted under the immediate superintendence of General Cunningham, and although his object, in these analyses, was rather to arrive at a general average of intrinsic contents, than to discover discriminative proportions of silver in the gradational divisions of the ruling *lalis*, the table itself is of considerable interest, not only as an additional evidence of the existence of the pervading system of mixed metals for the regulation of exchange rates, but as affording a totally independent test of the values of conterminous issues, whose bare names have hitherto carried but vague intimations of their effective position in the circulating media of the period. At the same time, I must guard my readers against any supposition that the apparent depreciation of the currency under Hussain, as here set forth, is in any way real and positive. As coins were seemingly taken at hazard for these trials, the depreciated result of the silver return in the money of the latter king may merely imply that his *dirhams* were more largely current or more readily accessible to the modern collector than the *shash lalis* of his predecessors; and such, indeed, is the inference the comparative number of intrinsic grains of silver in the immediate contrast would seem to point to, but this is a branch of the inquiry which is more important in its relative than in its direct bearing upon the leading question of the Dehli mintages, and, as such, may be reserved for comment hereafter in its proper place, in connexion with the issues of Sikandar bin Buhlól and the *black tankahs* of Tirhút in Babar's returns. But the most curious fact contributed by the

extant Jaunpur coins consists in their testimony to the diverse metric systems obtaining in closely proximate localities at this period. The monetary standard of Imperial Dehli is now pretty well ascertained, and coincidentally evidence is afforded of the gradations of current Bazar weights and measures. The local Eastern Mint clearly coined money of a higher average weight both in copper and in gold. In the latter metal we recognize *the* tolah of 180 grains, which our early English officials too readily accepted as the normal weight for all India. Col Guthrie's gold coin No. *f* absolutely exceeds this ponderary measure by a small fraction, and the piece itself, though defective as a work of art, is as sharp in its edges as if it had received its stamp but yesterday. The other specimens in gold, Nos. *a*, *b*, equally advance in a marked degree beyond the limited 175 grains of the assumed Dehli standard.

*Assays of Muhammadan Coins*<sup>1</sup>

|              | No<br>melted. | Mean<br>weight. | +   | Total<br>Silver | Average<br>Silver                                   |
|--------------|---------------|-----------------|-----|-----------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| Ibrâhîm      | 10            | 140 2           | 145 | 130             | 13 0                                                |
| Mahmud       | 9             | 142 66          | —   | 113             | 11 3                                                |
| Husain (1st) | 4             | 149 0           | 152 | 13 5            | 3 4                                                 |
| " (2nd)      | 96            | —               | —   | 299 0           | 3 125                                               |
| " (3rd)      | 10            | —               | —   | 35 0            | 3 5                                                 |
|              |               |                 |     |                 | Mean of 110<br>coins in 3<br>assays, 3 34<br>grains |

<sup>1</sup> I preserve the returns of some other assays which General Cunningham has simultaneously favoured me with, though they do not correctly belong to this section of Indian currencies, but as they form a portion of his table, they range themselves more consistently under the present association than they would amid independent analyses undertaken with a different object in view.

|                                                    |          |        |        |                   |
|----------------------------------------------------|----------|--------|--------|-------------------|
| Alâ ud-dîn Khilji                                  | Mean     | +      | Silver | Silver            |
| Small name in circle<br>(No. 136 + prd) 154 coins  | weight.  | 52 218 | 56     | 398               |
|                                                    |          |        |        | 2 584 grs. each.  |
| Ditto, silvery looking<br>(No. 139 suprd) 10 coins | 61 0     | —      | 87     | 8 70              |
| Sikandar Lodi                                      | 76 coins |        |        |                   |
| 1st 38                                             | 139 58   | 142    | 157    | Mean of 2 assays, |
| 2nd 38                                             | 134 47   | 144    | 161    | 4 18 grs. each.   |

## TWENTY-SEVENTH RULER (A.H. 815-817; A.D. 1412-1414).

On the death of Mahmúd, in Rajab, A.H. 815, the notables of Dehli elected Daulat Khán *Lodi* to be their leader, and pledged their instant adhesion accordingly. To judge from the narrative of the best informed and nearly contemporary historian,<sup>1</sup> there was no pretence of assumption of royalty, nor were any of the ceremonies of coronation or less formal investiture gone through upon this occasion. It was necessary to have some acknowledged head of the military oligarchy of the narrowed section of the country which still owned Dehli as its capital; and a recognition of the most powerful among the chiefs,—such as had sufficed for all purposes of government under Mullú Ikbál Khán,—to the utter disregard of the fiction of a King, was perhaps, under the peculiar circumstances, the wisest course that could have been pursued.

Daulat Khán's position was further strengthened for the time by the cohesion of Mubárik Khán and Malik Idrís, who had lately supported Khizr Khán, Tímúr's governor of Dailpúr, etc. However, the utmost the new ruler of Dehli was able to accomplish was a military promenade, in Muhamram, 816 A.H., by the route of Katéhr<sup>2</sup> and Bisáuli,<sup>3</sup> leaving

<sup>1</sup> The author of the *Tárikh-i Mubárik Sháh*.

<sup>2</sup> The *Tárikh-i Mubárik Sháh* mentions that "Rái Harmang and other Ráis of Katéhr (کتھر : s. Rohilkand) met Daulat Khán on this occasion, and tendered their submission." Nizam-ud-din and Ferishtah have "Narmang" (1. 595) See also Elliot's Glossary, i. 171, 307, ii. 150, and Elliot's Index (1849), i. 192.

<sup>3</sup> This was the site of Firuz Sháh's *latest* Firuzpúr, seven kás from Badáon, which was quaintly entitled by the people of the land *Akkhíri-pur*, "the last city"—Ferishtah. Elliot's Bibliographical Index, p. 330

Ibrahim of Jaunpur to continue undisturbed the siege of Kalpi, Daulat Khan returned to Dehli, where, after suffering a four months' siege in the fort of Siri, he finally surrendered to Khizr Khan on the 7th of Rabi'ul awwal, A.H. 817.

Daulat Khan *Lodi* having refrained from assuming the honours of royalty, *ipso facto* admitted his disability to coin money in his own name.

The posthumous coins bearing the names of Firuz Shah or those of other members of his family, struck under the presidency of Daulat Khan *Lodi*, may be recapitulated as follows —

1 Positive issues from the Mint of Daulat Khan *Lodi* during his full domination at Dehli — Nos. 238, A.H. 816, and 280, A.H. 816

2 Possible issues during the initial or concluding years of his power — Nos. 238 and 270, A.H. 817, and 280, A.H. 815

#### TWENTY EIGHTH RULER (A.H. 817-824, A.D. 1414-1421)

Khizr Khan first appears in the political arena of northern Hindustan as governor of Multan under Firuz Shah. In the various complications consequent upon that monarch's subdued later life and the discordant heritages he left behind him, we only regain sight of Khizr Khan, in the general history of the day, when Sárang Khán, the brother of the all powerful Mullu Ikbál Khán besieges and captures him in his own stronghold of Multan in 798 A.H. Escaping from his imprisonment, Khizr Khán seeks refuge at Biána, and in process of time, when Timur is on his way to Dehli, he casts his fortune with the alien invader. On the final

departure of these Tatár hordes, who pretended to no interest in the land they had devastated and runned within the limits of their providentially confined track, this complacent 'Syud' was left to resume his former holdings, and eventually, not without effort, he succeeded in installing himself in the capital on the surrender of Daulat Khán *Lodd* in 817 A.H. His seven years' tenure of power in his new position present but few incidents of mark there is a seeming Oriental want of energy to sustain an accomplished triumph, an air of ease which so often stole over the senses of a successful owner of a Palace in Dehli, and so his vazir and deputy, *Tay ul Mulk*, went forth to coerce or persuade, as occasion might dictate, the various independent chiefs, whether Muslim or Hindu, whose states now encircled the reduced boundaries of the old Pathán kingdom. There were, of course, the ordinary concessions to expediency, so well understood in the East, submission for the moment in the presence of a superior force, insincere professions of allegiance, temporizing payments of tribute, or desertion of fields and strongholds easily regained, but there was clearly no material advance in public security or in the supremacy of the central government. The inevitable law of nature had, no doubt, been asserting itself anew in the ready recovery of the influence of the free Hindu tribes as against the effete dominancy of the domesticated Muslims, but this process had been in continuous action from the day that the thin wedge of Muhammadanism first thrust itself amid the overwhelming population of India, whose almost Chinese attachment to ancient ideas would have resisted far more persuasive arguments than the sharpest edge of a scimetar, or the most eloquent exhortations of the latest inspired preacher of Islam. Added to this nominally antagonistic element,

thero had intervened in higher quarters an amalgamative process of intermarriage with Hindú females, and an admission of Hindú converts, upon very easy terms, to all the honours of Muhammadan nobility; so that any prestige the conquering race might once have claimed was altogether subdued, if not degraded, in these inconsistent concessions; and it required something more revolutionary than the accession of a local Syud to perpetuate a new dynasty.

Khizr Khán died at Dehli on the 17th of Jumáda'l awwal, A.H. 824.

A curious numismatic myth has hitherto been associated with the chieftainship of Khizr Khán, inasmuch as it had been asserted by Ferishtah that he coined money in the name of his patron, Tímúr.<sup>1</sup> A more careful examination of the leading versions of the Indian historians, combined with the testimony of extant coins, summarily disposes of this fable. Ferishtah clearly derived this statement from Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad; and looking closely into the Persian text of the latter author, it is seen to be almost a verbatim copy of the narrative of the Tárikh-i Mubárak Sháhi, with this remarkable exception, that the passage respecting Khizr Khán's refrain-

<sup>1</sup> "He refrained from assuming royal titles, and gave out that he held the government for Timúr, in whose name he caused the coin to be struck and the Khutba to be read. After the death of Timúr, the Khutba was read in the name of his successor, Sháh Rokh Mirza, to whom he sometimes even sent tribute at his capital of Samarkand."—Briggs's Ferishtah, vol. 1 p. 508.

Abul Fazl followed Ferishtah in this error.

"Khizr Khán, out of gratitude to his benefactor, Timúr, did not assume the title of Sultán, but continued to have the Khotbah read in the name of that monarch, contenting himself with being styled Ayáut Aála, or the Most High in Dignity. At the death of Timúr, the Khotbah was read in the name of his successor, Sháh Rokh, concluding with a prayer for the prosperity of Khizr Khán."—Gladwin's Ayn-i Akberi

ing from assuming the title of king and holding himself as a vassal of Tímúr and Sháh Rúkh,<sup>1</sup> proves to be a gratuitous interpolation of the later epitomist, the concluding portion of which assertion is not adopted or received by his better-informed contemporary, 'Abd ul Kádir *Badaoni*, who rightly confines his statement to the non-assumption of the titles of róyalty.

As regards the numismatic aspect of the controversy, nothing could be more conclusive against any notion that Tímúr's title was emblazoned on the Indian coinage for many years after he had left the country, than the appearance of specimens of Dehli mintages, in more or less sustained order, bearing the names of Firúz Sháh and other duly-installed monarchs of his race, dated in full figures, and embracing several of the absolutely identical seven years during which Khizr Khán was master of the capital.

In short, Khizr Khán, in imitation of the practice already sanctioned by Mullú Ikbál, and more definitively recognized by Daulat Khán *Lódi*, issued money in the names, sometimes with the available original obverse dies, of his formally-crowned predecessors. It mattered little to one who did not care to call himself a king, whose superscription was placed on the public money,—his duty was confined to authorizing the

<sup>1</sup> "Notwithstanding his possessing the substantial power and authority of a king, he never assumed the title, but called himself Amir 'Ala. He allowed the coin to be stamped and the Khutbah to be read in the name of Amir Tímúr, and subsequently in that of Mirzá Sháh Rúkh, but at last the people used to read the Khutbah in Khizr Khán's name, and to include him in their blessings."—Nuzám ud din Ahmad, *Tabakát-i Akbari*; Elliot's Index (1849), p 192

The author of the *Tárikh-i Mubárak Sháhi* never thinks of calling Khizr Khán by the title of Sultán. He is ordinarily entitled مسند خالی, but after his accession رایات اعلیٰ (و اُس پادشاہی بر خود تجویز نکرد رایات اعلیٰ حطاب یافت) *Badaoni*, Calcutta text, p 285

legality of the new issues by so much of his attestation, as was implied in the annual date recorded on the reverse, which indicated one of *the* few years during which he was the responsible head of the provisional government of the country,—a system, indeed, which the East India Company, of their own free will, imitated with much credit and simplicity by striking their Rupees in the name of Sháh 'Álam and other defunct monarchs of Dehli, whose money had of old obtained good repute in the local Bázárs. But as the progressive annual dates, which were needed to test the good faith of Oriental princes, came, in process of time, to be a source of confusion and an opportunity for money-changers, the Government adopted the expedient of selecting the best current coin of the day, and based their standard upon its intrinsic value; and so the immutable date of “the *xix san* (year) of Sháh 'Álam,” came to figure upon our much-prized “Sicca Rupees”<sup>1</sup>

#### TWENTY-NINTH KING (A.H. 824-837, A.D. 1421-1433)

The reign of Mubárik Sháh II (*Mu'izz ud din*) has had the advantage of a special biographer,—an author of more than usual merit, a careful epitomist of the initial history of the Muslims in India, a conscientious and exact narrator of the events of the later period, of which he had exceptional sources of knowledge, and a living witness of the personal government of his patron and that of his immediate predecessor, as well as of the introductory portion of the reign

<sup>1</sup> Prinsep's Indian Antiquities, Useful Tables, pp. 2, 3, 24, 48, 74

of Muhammad bin Farid.<sup>1</sup> But the most graphic historian, ancient or modern, could have produced but little instructive matter out of the thirteen years of provincial warfare that the newly-instituted Sultán of Dehli was doomed to encounter.

If Mubárik Sháh did not fight his own battles, he had to accompany his own armies at all times, and against all manner of adversaries; the more potent monarchs of Jaunpúr and Málwah affected his essential political position less than the fatal heritage of the Panjáb provinces, from which his father had gone forth to the bootless conquest of Dehli. In effect, the revered capital of the successors of Muhammad bin Sam had long since lost its prestige in India, and Timúr's invasion merely put a finishing stroke to the supremacy of the old Hindú reverence for the "Owners of Elephants,"<sup>2</sup> or the

<sup>1</sup> The author of the *Tárikh-i Mubdrak Sháh* gives us his own name and parentage in full in his preface as بخي بن احمد بن عبد الله السعير بدی as مالک ملوك العرب والنعمان

الوازن تائید الرحمن معز الدیا والدین ابو الفتح مسارت شاد السلطان

The work itself is very rare, and none of our collectors of MSS seem to have secured an original copy, even Sir H. Elliot himself, whose MS I have had to rely upon for my quotations, only obtained a secondary transcript, from an unidentified text, made by one of his own *Manshás*, who was neither a good calligraphist nor careful or critical in his reproduction of doubtful names. As I have before remarked, the author closely follows Shams-i Siráf in the early portion of his history, and with regard to his own independent composition in the entire work, this division has been so largely taken advantage of by subsequent authors, that the chief value of the recovered original consists in its enabling us to check and restore the doubtful passages that have crept into the recensions of later compilers. The modern copy made for Sir H. Elliot concludes somewhat abruptly with Muhammad bin Farid's preparations for the march to Multán, in Rabi'ul akhir, A.H. 838. I have been careful not to anticipate Sir H. Elliot's biographical notice of this author, which will probably appear in the fourth volume of his "Historians."—See Briggs's *Ferishtah*, 1 p. xlxi, Badáoni, Calcutta text, p. 7, J.R.A.S. 111. N S., p. 455.

<sup>2</sup> गज पति *Gaj pati*, "Lord of Elephants," a King

more material purchasing power of the royal treasuries, the northern Barbarian took care to empty. Under these conditions, Mubárik Sháh might make minor demonstrations against the Hindú Zamíndárs of Katehr, or recover balances of tribute within a very limited semicircle south of Dehli, but his real complications were dependent upon the movements of those indomitable "Kokars" (Ghakkars) over whom Timúr himself had obtained but nominal victories,<sup>1</sup> or the still more exhausting repetition of Tátár raids, organized by Sháh Rúkh's governor of Kábul, under the guidance of that false slave *Fulád*, whose intrigues were initiated in near proximity to Dehli itself.

Mubárik was murdered within the sacred precincts of the Mosque of the new city of Mubárikpúr,<sup>2</sup> which he had

<sup>1</sup> Elliot's *Historians*, in pp 415, 416, 473, 474, 485, 520, George Campbell, *Jour As Soc. Bengal*, 1866, p 96

<sup>2</sup> The site of Mubárikpúr is not fully determined; those who desire to place it about half-way, in a direct line, between "Shapor and Roshun Serai," of Colonel McKenzie's map, are met by the fact that it is definitely stated to have been built on the Jumna. Nothing, indeed, can be more clear than the statement of the author of the *Tárikh-i Mubárik Sháh*, who absolutely witnessed the laying the foundations of the city in question, and who places it immediately on the banks of the river. His statement is as follows —

بادشاه عالمپیاد را اتھاک شد که شہری در کراہ از لب آب جوں  
نا کد هفدهم ماد ریبع الاول سه سع و تلشون و ثمانایہ شہری در

خراب آباد و نیا نشاد بھاڈ و آن شہر شومرا مسارک آباد نام نہاد  
(See also his copyists, Nizám ud-dín Ahmad, MS., and Badaoni, Calcutta text, p 297). Under these circumstances, I am inclined to think that the site of the intended city should be looked for near the existing emplacement of the tomb of Khizr Khán (or

خیز کی کسٹی) in Mouzah Ulhalak (اوکھلہ) (Syud Ahmad, p 41). I do not feel any difficulty in regard to the present village of "Mubárikpúr," which in all probability only derived its modern name, as in the case of the village of the "Hauz-i Khás," from the ancient monument, the tomb of Mubárik still standing within its boundaries — See Syud Ahmad, pp.

founded on the banks of the Jumna, by some Hindu assassins, instigated to their task by his own razir, Sarwar ul Mulk. The date of this event is fixed by his biographer as the 9th of Rajab, A.H. 837

No 287 Silver Weight, 174 grs A.H. 833, 835, 837  
Very rare Mr E C Bayley

في حد السلطان العاري المتوكل على الرحمن مبارك شاد—  
سلطان

Reverse— ٨٣٥ حديثت حملت امر المؤمن

No 288 Silver and Copper Weight, 172 grs  
A.H. 838, 834, 835, 837

Obverse { مبارك شاد  
                  Margin, سلطان صرمت حضرت دهلي

Reverse— ٨٣٣ امر المؤمن

No 289 (pl. v fig 154) Copper Weight, 83.5 grs  
A.H. 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838

Obverse سلطان مبارك شاد—

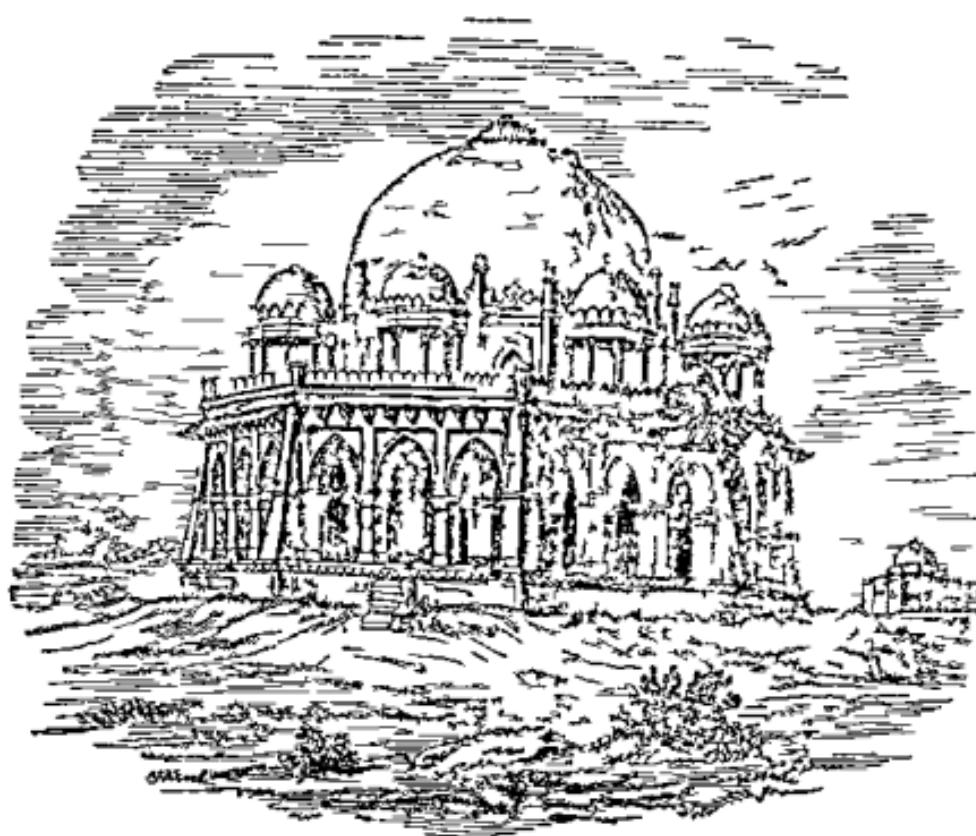
Reverse— ٨٣٢ دارالملك دهلي

No 290 Copper Weight, 40 grs

Obverse مبارك شاد—

Reverse . حضرت

26 41 Jour Asiatique p 190, Messrs Lewis and Cope in Cooper's Handbook, pp 49 54 Gen Cunningham's Arch Report Map Mr C J Campbell, Jour As Soc Bengal 1866, p 216 and Map and Jour As Soc Bengal 1870 p 83



### TOMB OF MUHAMMAD BIN FARID AT DELHI<sup>1</sup>

The usual form of a Pathán tomb will be understood from the accompanying woodcut. It consists of an octagonal apartment about 30 feet in diameter surrounded by a verandah following the same form, each face being ornamented by three arches of the stilted pointed form generally adopted by the Patháns. It is supported by double square columns which are almost as universal with them as the form of arch. It is evidently a reminiscence of the Hindú art from which the r style sprang. —Fergusson's Handbook of Architecture, vol. i, p. 653.

### THIRTIETH KING (A H 837-847, A D 1433-1443)

Within a few hours of the murder of Mubárik Sháh, the perfidious *Varír* had formally proclaimed another monarch, in the person of Muhammad bin Farid, a grandson of Khízr

<sup>1</sup> My authority for the assignment of this Tomb to Muhammad bin Farid is derived from the testimony of that most experienced of all our archaeological explorers of ancient Delhi, Syud Ahmad Khán C S I. His account of the edifice is to be found at p. 42 of the *Asárus Sunadeed*, and *Journal Asiatique* (1860) p. 417.

Khán, whom the late Sultán had already adopted.<sup>1</sup> Sarwar ul Mulk, however, had no intention that the new king should exercise any real power in the State, and unscrupulously proceeded to possess himself of the royal treasures and equipments, and to distribute the most important posts among his own creatures. A government thus constituted could boast but few elements of permanency; other men could plot and intrigue, and the Muslim nobles were not yet prepared to accept a Hindú dictator, who made no scruple in advancing men of his own creed to all the more influential offices. A strong combination was speedily formed, which, after some varied successes, reduced the *Vazír* to stand a siego within the walls of Síri. In this crisis his puppet Sultán endeavoured to emancipate himself by entering into negotiations with the besiegers; but Sarwar ul Mulk, obtaining intimation of this proceeding, determined to deprive his adversaries of the prestige of a royal coadjutor, by getting rid of his own protégé; but here, again, there were plots and counterplots, and the *Vazír*'s assassin band was met by a stronger party of loyal adherents, by whom they were cut to pieces, a fate which was shared by Sarwar ul Mulk himself.

Muhammad bin Farid seems for a brief period to have infused some energy into his administration, but the effort was short-lived, and we soon find him subsiding into sensual pleasures and utter neglect of his duties as a king. The inevitable result was soon apparent in the total disorganization of the country, and the opportunity offered to the am-

<sup>1</sup> Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad, and after him severally Badaoni, Abúl Fazl, and Ferishtah, have confessed to a difficulty about the parentage of this monarch. The *Rubric* heading in Sir H. Elliot's MS. copy of the *Tárikh-i Mubarak Shahi* is clear as **محمد شاہ بن فرید شاہ بن خصر شاہ السلطان**, in exact accord with the tenor of the coin legends.

bition of neighbouring monarchs, which was quickly taken advantage of by Ibráhím of Jaunpúr, who possessed himself of several districts bordering on his own dominions, and Mahmúd *Khuljí* of Málwah went so far as to make an attempt on the capital. To extricate himself from this pressing difficulty, the Sultán called in the aid of one who was destined to play a leading part in the events of his day, Buhlól Lódi, at this time nominal governor, though virtual master of the dependencies of Láhor and Sirhind. By his assistance, the king was relieved from his immediate danger, and the protecting subject was dignified with the title of Khán Khánán (first of the nobles). Buhlól's next appearance is in a somewhat altered character, as besieger of Dehlí itself, and the adversary of the monarch he had lately saved; he was not however successful. Muhammad died in 847.<sup>1</sup>

No. 291. Gold. Weight, 176 grs. Unique. Mr. E. C. Bayley.

السلطان ابوالمحامد محمد شاه فرید شاه خضر شاد—  
*Obverse*

في زمان الامام امير المؤمنين خلدت خلافته—  
*Reverse*

No. 292. Silver. Weight, 175 grs. A.H. 846. Very rare.

Mr. E. C. Bayley.<sup>2</sup>

السلطان ابوالمحامد محمد شاه فرید شاه خضر شاد سلطانی—  
*Obverse*

في زمان الامام امير المؤمنين خلدت خلافته ٨٤٦—  
*Reverse*

<sup>1</sup> There is an unimportant conflict of evidence in regard to the exact date of the death of Muhammad bin Faríd. Férnshtah had succeeded in getting his record wrong by two years, by the process of post-dating Muhammad's accession by that amount, but he makes a less venial mistake in insisting upon a twelve years' reign in spite of his own expressed figures of from "839 to 849" A.H. (Briggs, pp. 532, 539). Badhom also, who is correct in the given dates of accession and death, as 837-847 A.H., insists upon adding that Muhammad reigned fourteen years (Calcutta text, pp. 300, 304). Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad, on the contrary, is exact in his dates, and consistent in the assignment of a ten years' reign.

<sup>2</sup> The silver coin (No. D cxxxvii. p. 545) attributed by Mareden to this Sultán is incorrectly assigned.

No 293 (pl v. fig 156) Silver and Copper Weight, 142 grs  
 A.H. 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847

سلطان محمد شاد بن فريد شاد سلطنت دہلی—

Reverse—العليمة امر المؤمن حلت حلقته ۱۵۶۷

No 294 Copper Weight, 136 grs A.H. 844 Rare

Obverse  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{محمد شاد Area,} \\ \text{Margin,} \end{array} \right.$   
 سلطان سلطنت سلطنت

Reverse—نایب امر المؤمنین

No 295 (pl v fig 157) Copper Weight, 85 grs  
 A.H. 837, <sup>1</sup> 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847.

Obverse—محمد شاد سلطانی

Reverse—دار الملك دہلی ۱۵۲۷

No 296 Copper Weight, 33½ grs

Obverse—محمد شاد

Reverse—سلطنت دہلی

<sup>1</sup> This very early specimen of Muhammad bin Farid's coinage is the property of Major Stubbs. The last two figures are indisputable, and the first stroke of the v is sufficiently pronounced to satisfy the present reading. On closer examination, I find that I have a coin of 837 A.H. in my own collection, and General Cunningham's cabinet, lately made over to Colonel Guthrie, contains a third example of the date in question.

## THIRTY FIRST KING (A H 847-855, A D 1443-1451)

The 'Ala ud dín bin Muhammad of the historians, who is entitled 'Alam Shah on the current money, succeeded his father in 847 A H. His accession was not, however, recognized by Bahlol Lodi, whose obedience the new Sultan was in no position to enforce. The first acts of the public life of this prince clearly manifested to his subjects that they had little to expect from a monarch who, in their own terms, was less efficient than his own father. In 851 A H., Bahlol Lodi made a second attempt on the city of Dehli, but with as little success as before, and shortly afterwards the Sultán determined upon the unwise measure of removing his capital to Badaon. His motives for this change do not appear very obvious, as it was effected in the face of the advice of his whole Court. It would seem as if he hoped for some fancied security which he did not feel at Dehli, to which the boundaries of so many adverse chiefs had attained an inconvenient proximity<sup>1</sup>. To complete his own

<sup>1</sup> Bahlol Lodi was raised to the throne by a confederacy of six or seven great Afghan chiefs. At the period when this confederacy was formed, the empire of Dehli had really ceased to exist having been broken down into a variety of kingdoms and principalities. Of all the former vast empire Dehli alone with a small territory around it was held by the Syud Sultán Ala ud dín the nominal sovereign. The more considerable provinces Multan Jaunpúr Bengal Málwah and Gujarat had each its separate king. The provinces around Dehli were in the condition emphatically called *Muluk-i-Tawâif* or governments of tribes Mahról and Mewat, to within seven *kos* of Dehli were in the hands of Ahmad Khán of Mewat on the opposite side Sambhal to the very suburbs of Dehli was occupied by Daria Khán Lodi, Kol Jaleswar, in the Doáb by Isa Khán Tûrk Rápi and its dependencies by Kuth Khán Afghan Kampala and Pathál by Raja Partap Singh Bhâna, by Dadd Khán Lodi. Bahlol h himself possessed the extensive provinces of Láhor Da balpúr and Sirhind as far south as Panipat. — Erskine's Lives of Baber and Humayûn i 40.

ruin, the Sultán allowed himself to be persuaded to disgrace his *rāzīr*, Hamíd Khán, who, escaping to Dehli, quickly welcomed the powerful Buhlól Lodi, who at once, on becoming master of the capital, assumed the title of Sultán, somewhat strangely, however, retaining 'Alam Shah's name in the *Khutbah*<sup>1</sup>. Not long after this, 'Alam Shah offered to concede the empire to Buhlol, on condition of being permitted to reside in peace at Badaón no difficulty was made in taking advantage of this proposal, and from this time Buhlol is reported to have rejected the name of 'Alam Sháh from the public prayers, and the latter was allowed to enjoy his insignificant obscurity undisturbed till his death in 883 A.H.

No 297 (pl v fig 159) Silver and Copper Weight, 146 grs  
A.H. 851, 853 Rare

سلطان المشاہ بن محمد شاہ حضرت دہلی—  
Obverse—

الصلی اللہ علیہ وس علیہ رحمۃ رحیم  
Reverse—

No 298 Silver and Copper Small coins similar in fabric  
and legends

No 299 Silver and Copper Small coin of similar type to  
No 297, but inserting صریح دہلی on the obverse

No 300 Copper Weight 135 grs A.H. 853 Rare  
Obverse { Centre, حال المشاہ  
Margin illegible

Reverse—ناز امر المؤمن

No 301 (pl v fig 160) Copper Weight 66 grs  
A.H. 852 853, 854 Rare

Obverse—حال المشاہ سلطان

Reverse—دارالملک دہلی

<sup>1</sup> Nizam ud-dín and Badaoni do not give any sanction for this statement of Ferishtah

No 302 Copper. Weight, 46 grs Rare

سلطان عالمشاه بن محمد شاه بخشت دهلي—

Reverse— الخليفه امير المؤمنين . . . .

I avail myself of the break in the continuity of my leading subject afforded by a change in the dynasty of the ruling power at Dehli, to advert briefly to the coins of the contemporary Muhammadan kingdoms of Kulbarga, Málwah, and Gujarát, whose independence, in the one case, grew out of Muhammad bin Tughlak's difficulties towards the close of his reign, and in the others, took their rise from the weakness of the government of Firúz's successors in the old capital of the Patháns. As in the previous instance of the severed Jaunpúr line, I propose to confine the present numismatic illustrations to representative or otherwise remarkable specimens of these confessed offshoots of the imperial coinage, subordinating, in smaller type, the more ample outline of each local series immediately within reach.

#### I THE BAHMANI KINGS OF THE DAKHAN.<sup>1</sup>

پادشاهان حسآناد کلرکه و احمدآباد سدر سلطان بهمنیه

NO A.H. A.D.<sup>2</sup>

1 748 1347 Hasan Gango شاه عل الدین حسن کانکوی بهمنی

2 759 1358 Muhammad Sháh, Ghazi محمد شاه بن سلطان عل الدین حسن کانکوی بهمنی عاری

<sup>1</sup> Fershtah, Bombay Persian Text, 1 pp 525, 730, Briggs's Fershtah, n. p 233. Captain Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas (1826), 1 p 50 *et seq.* Prinsep's Essays—Useful Tables, p 314; Elphinstone's History of India, Appendix, p 755, Elliot's Index, pp 331-336

<sup>2</sup> The parallel dates here entered are designedly more reserved in their definitions than the leading scheme of comparative Hijrah and Christian eras propounded at page 6, *supra*. If difficulties environed the specification of exact days and months in the one case, they more distinctly counsel an equal reserve in subordinate and more obscure records.

NO A.H. A.D.

|    |     |      |                                          |                                                                         |
|----|-----|------|------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 3  | 776 | 1375 | Mujahid Shah                             | مُحَمَّد شَاه بْن مُحَمَّد شَاه                                         |
| 4  | 780 | 1378 | Dáud Shah                                | دَاؤد شَاه بْن عَلَالِ الدِّين حَسَن                                    |
| 5  | 780 | 1378 | Mahmud Shah I<br>(Muhammad on the coins) | مُحَمَّد شَاه بْن عَلَالِ الدِّين حَسَن                                 |
| 6  | 799 | 1397 | Ghíás ud din                             | عَيَّاثُ الدِّين بْن مُحَمَّد شَاه                                      |
| 7  | 799 | 1397 | Shams ud din                             | شَمْسُ الدِّين بْن مُحَمَّد شَاه                                        |
| 8  | 800 | 1397 | Fíruz Shah ( <i>Roz Afzun</i> )          | فِرُور شَاه بِسْمِي<br>الملقب بِرُورِ افْرُونْ شَاه بْن دَاؤد شَاه      |
| 9  | 825 | 1422 | Abmad Sháh I.                            | أَحْمَد شَاه وَلِي بِسْمِي بْن دَاؤد شَاه                               |
| 10 | 838 | 1435 | 'Ala ud din (Ahmad) II                   | عَلَالِ الدِّين بْن أَحْمَد شَاه                                        |
| 11 | 862 | 1457 | Humayun ( <i>Zalim</i> )                 | وَلَدُ سُلْطَان عَلَى الدِّين<br>الْمَشْهُور بِعَمَّا يُونِ شَاه طَالِم |
| 12 | 865 | 1461 | Nizam Shah                               | نِظَام شَاه بْن هَمَائِيُون شَاه                                        |
| 13 | 867 | 1463 | Muhammad Shah II                         | شَمْسُ الدِّين مُحَمَّد شَاه بْن<br>هَمَائِيُون شَاه                    |
| 14 | 887 | 1482 | Mahmud Shah II                           | مُحَمَّد شَاه بْن مُحَمَّد شَاه                                         |
| 15 | 924 | 1518 | Ahmad Shah II.                           | أَحْمَد شَاه بْن مُحَمَّد شَاه                                          |
| 16 | 927 | 1520 | 'Ala ud din III                          | عَلَالِ الدِّين شَاه بْن أَحْمَد شَاه                                   |
| 17 |     | 1522 | Wali ullah                               | شَاه وَلِي الله بْن مُحَمَّد شَاه                                       |
| 18 |     | 1525 | Kalm ullah                               | شَاه كَلْمَ الله بِسْمِي بْن مُحَمَّد شَاه                              |

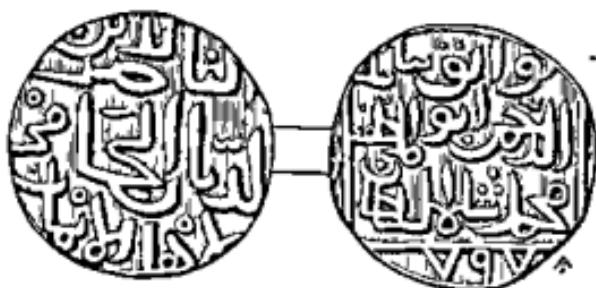
At the period of Hasan Gango's death, the dominions of the Muhammadans in the Dakhān extended over nearly all Mahārashṭra, a small portion of Telengāna, together with Raichor and Mudgul in the Carnatic. When Muhammad Shah succeeded to the throne, he divided the kingdom into four parts, or *tarafs*. In the course of 130 years the territory had been greatly increased by con-

quests, and under Muhammad Sháh II. a new division was proposed, according to the following outline :—

| OLD DIVISIONS.       | NEW DIVISIONS |
|----------------------|---------------|
| I. Kulbarga.....     | 1 Bíjapúr.    |
|                      | 2 Ahsanábád.  |
| II. Daulatábád ..... | 3 Daulatábád. |
|                      | 4 Junír.      |
| III. Telingana.....  | 5 Rajamundri. |
|                      | 6 Warangol.   |
| IV Berár.....        | 7 Gawel       |
|                      | 8 Mahúr.      |

Out of these governments arose the several dynasties of 'Adil Sháhi, Nizám Sháhi, Kutb Sháhi, Imád Sháhi, and Baríd Sháhi.'

No. 303. Silver. Weight, 165 grs. Very rare. Col. Guthrie  
A.H. 797.



No 304 Silver Gen A Cunningham Very rare  
A H 856



ابوالمطغر علاء

الديبا و الدiens احمد

شاد بن احمد شاد

الولي الشافعى



السلطان

الخلسم الكريم

رق على عاد الله

السعى الحمد

٨٥٦

Ferishtah, who was learned in Southern story, contributes some curious information in regard to the difficulties surrounding the early currencies of the Bahmani kings. He states that the money of Muhammad Shâh (A H 759-776) consisted of pieces of four different denominations, in gold and silver, ranging from two *tolahs* to a quarter of a *tolah* in weight,<sup>1</sup> he then proceeds to describe the legends employed, in which we need not follow him beyond his full text quoted below, but he adds an instructive notice of the tendency of the Dakhani *Sarrâfs* to break up the new Muslim

<sup>1</sup> و در سلطان محمد شاد نعمی از قسم طلا و نقره چار کوبه بود  
ناوران محله سایتش از دو توله ریاده سود و از ربع طوله کم نه و در  
یکلوف کلمه طنہ شادت و نام چار بار و در طرف دیگر نام ناد شاد

صر و ناریح وقت ارتسام داشت

Bombay text, 1 p 537

money for the purpose of reconverting it into coins after their own ideals, bearing Hindú devices. The King is stated to have resorted to extreme measures to repress this practice, but with little effect, until he appears to have given the *Khatri*s, who had originally migrated from Dehli with the conquering hosts, the monopoly of verifying the current coin, which incidentally carried with it the far more important prerogative, too well understood *in loco*, of precedence in money-changing.

بموجب حکم کپٹریان کے ہمراہ لشکر دہلی در سو ات سابعہ  
بدنک آمدہ بوند بشغل صرافی پرداختہ تا اواخر عہد پادشاہ

بچمنیہ زر اسلام راجح و شایع بود. *Bombay text, i. p. 537.*

The most important fact to be gathered from this statement is that, in the southern provinces, goldsmiths and dealers in bullion would seem to have been authorized, by prescriptive right, to fabricate money at will on their own account, without being subjected to any check or control on the part of the officials of a *Regal* mint, supposing such an institution to have formed a constituent division of governmental polity among these still primitive nationalities, where intrinsic values were ordinarily checked and determined by the rough process of the *touchstone* of the village *sonár*, or tested by the equally imperfect machinery of the responsible authority in the urban communities, with but little reference to royal or other stamps.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I have had within my own experience, in the Saugor and Nerbuddah territories, a striking instance of the direct and personal responsibilities of the officials of the normal village communities, which quaintly illustrates the practical working of this testing process. A son of a village *sonár*, in the uncertainty of human life, succeeded to his father's office before he had had time to acquire the full knowledge of his ancestral craft, and in his new capacity was rash enough to put his *punched* attestation of genuineness upon some 350 rupees that were sub-

## BAHMANI COINS

The subjoined skeleton list of the coins of the Bahmani dynasty has been mainly derived from the collection of Gen A. Cunningham, which has lately passed into the possession of Col. Guthrie. Readily available additions have been made from other sources, but the catalogue is avowedly incomplete, and is only inserted as a serial nucleus, to be filled in hereafter by local collectors. I must avail myself of this opportunity of exonerating Gen. Cunningham from any of the errors which may be discovered in my transcripts of the necessarily obscure legends of the coins of this or of the other provincial dynasties now restored from the original pieces.

The contents of these cabinets were delivered in due numismatic order, but the interpretation of the legends did not, even if time had permitted, constitute an obligatory part of the transfer to the new owner.

o MUHAMMAD SHÁH Silver A.H. 794, 795 (Sir W. Elliot, 797)  
(Engraved above)

8 FÍRÚZ SHÁH (ANSANÁBÍD) Silver A.H. 804, 807, 810, 813, 814 817,  
818, 819, 822 823 Marsden, pl. 38, fig. DCCXLVIII

سلطان العبد والرمان الواثق سائد الرحمن ابو المظفر—

Reverse—ناج الدسا والدين سورور شاد السلطان

Copper Obverse—ناجى رسول مسمى Reverse—سورور شاد بهى

10 'ALI UD DÍN AHMAD SHÁH Silver A.H. 845 (Sir W. Elliot, 856)  
(Engraved above)

Copper A.H. 825, 828 834

المحصور بصر الله المتن ابوعماري احمد شاد سلطان ٨٣٥

Copper A.H. 842 843, 844 345, 846, 847 Large coins

المحصور بالله المتن سى حليل الرحمن ابو المظفر—

Reverse—علالدسا والدين احمد شاد بن احمد شاد السلطان ٨٤٣

mitted to him for examination by members of his own special community. As these pieces proved one and all, to be forgeries the ordinary homely rule required him to replace every rupee he had so incautiously put his hand to —it is needless to say that he was hopelessly ruined. See also Prinsep, Useful Tables, p. 27.

Small coins have Obverses varying from **المتوكل على الله العزى** to **الواقى تأييد الملك**

11 HUMAYUN SHAH BIN AHMAD SHAH Silver A.H 863 British Museum  
Obverse—

المتوكل على الله القوى العزى ابو المearى

Reverse—**علالدسا و الدين همايون شاد بن احمد شاد**

**الولى السمى ٨٦٣**

13 MUHAMMAD SHAH BIN HUMAYUN SHAH (SHAMS UD-DIN)  
Silver A.H 880 (Sir W Elliot)

14 MAHMUD Copper (No date.)

## II KINGS OF MÄLWAH AND MÄNDU<sup>1</sup>

NO A.H A.D

|   |     |      |                                                         |                                                |
|---|-----|------|---------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | 804 | 1401 | Dilawar Khan, <i>Ghori</i>                              | دلاور خان عوري                                 |
| 2 | 808 | 1405 | Hushang (Founds' Mändu) <sup>2</sup>                    | سلطان هوشك عوري                                |
| 3 | 838 | 1434 | Muhammad Shad bin Sultan Hoshk Unuri                    | محمد شاد بن سلطان هوشك عوري                    |
| 4 | 839 | 1435 | Mahmud <i>Khilji</i> (defeated by Bahlol <i>Lodi</i> )  | سلطان محمود خلجي                               |
| 5 | 887 | 1482 | Ghias ud din <i>Khilji</i>                              | سات الدين بن سلطان محمود خلجي                  |
| 6 | 906 | 1500 | Nasir ud din <i>Khilji</i>                              | ناصر الدين بن عات الدین                        |
| 7 | 916 | 1510 | Mahmud II (Muzaffar Shah Gujarati aids him in 923 A.H.) | محمود بن ناصر الدين                            |
|   |     |      |                                                         | (A.H. 937, Malwah annexed by Bahadur Gujarati) |

The Muslim state of Malwah was at its zenith under Muhammad Khilji. At this period its boundaries embraced the cities of Chanderi, Islamabad, Hushangabad, and Kirlah (the capital of Gondwarra) extending on the south to the Satpurah range, on the west to the

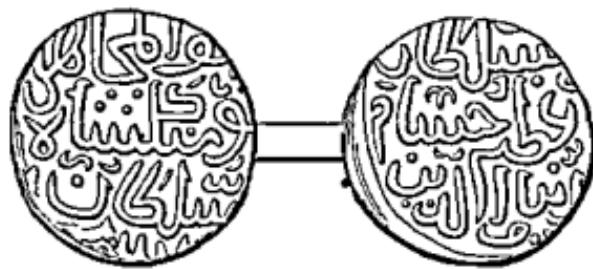
<sup>1</sup> Ferishtah, Persian text, II p 360 Briggs's translation IV p 167 *Ain-i Akbari*, II 53-63 Malcolm's Central India (1835), I 28, Scott's Deccan, etc

<sup>2</sup> Lat 22° 20', long 75° 27'

frontier of Gujarat, and on the east to Bundelkhand, while northwards the limits were marked by Mewar and Harauti, with occasional tribute from Chitor<sup>1</sup>.

Husám-ud dín Hushang *Ghor*:

No 305 Silver Weight, 169 grs *Unique* Col Tod's collection, Royal Asiatic Society A.H. 824



ابو المحماد

السلطان

هو شکشاد

الاعظم حسام

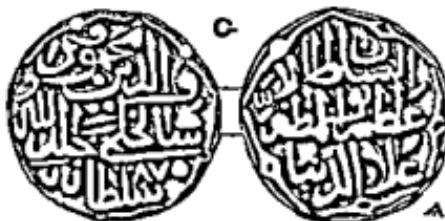
السلطان

الدسا و الدين

824

'Ala ud dín Mahmud, *Khigī*

No 306 Gold A.H. 870



والدسا محمد

السلطان الا

شاه الحلى خلد الله

اعظم ابو المطغر

سلطانه

عalla الدسا

87

<sup>1</sup> Malcolm's Central India, 1, p. 34

## MÁLWAH COINS

This list has also been compiled from the contents of Col Guthrie's cabinet, comprising the careful selections of Gen Cunningham, obtained through many years of diligent research

2 H̄̄s̄m ud d̄n H̄̄shāng Gh̄bri Silver (Coin engraved above)

Copper دارالملك Reverse—دوشكشاد السلطان

3 Copper (?) ٨٢٩ صرف قلعه يش او حس Reverse—٨٢٩ بى الارجى

4 MAHMUD a Gold A.H. 870 (Coin engraved above)

b Gold Square

c Silver and Copper Square Weight, 168 grs A.H. 823, 826

السلطان الحلم الکريم عل الدسا و الدس ٨٢٦

Reverse—Square area ابو المطغر محمود شاد حلبي

d Copper coins of the same device A.H. 848, 854, 856, 857

e Smaller type A.H. 850

f Copper A.H. 845, 847, 848, 851, 857

الحلمه امر المؤمن حله الله حلاته ٨٤٧  
ابو المطغر محمود شاد حلبي صرف مصروف شاد ياناد

g Silver and Copper Small coins A.H. 845, 854 (Dehli type)

Reverse—٨٤٥ السلطان الامطغر عل الدسا و الدس

Reverse—ابو المطغر محمود شاد حلبي صرف مصروف

h Silver and Copper Small coins (Dehli obverses as above)

Reverse Centre—محمود شاد حلبي

Margin—مصروف

i Small coin Shādiābād A.H. 873

5 Ghīś Shāh Gold Weight, 168 grs A.H 887

السلطان بن السلطان ولی عد حلیعه الزمان فی العالمس

ابو الفتح عیاث شاد السلطان الحلیی صربت بدارالملك

شادیاناد ۸۸۷

ابو المطفر محمود شاد حلیی

Gold Square Weight, 169 grs A.H 883, 884 (British Museum 885 888)

الوائی بالملك الملکی ابو الفتح عیاث شاد  
بن محمود شاد الحلیی السلطان حلد ملکه ۸۸۵With a full design of the *Sivas ida* in the fieldSilver Square Weight, 84 grs. A.H 890 (reversed ۹۸, sic), 895 899  
British Museum.

Copper A.H 883, 887, 894, 896, 903, 904 905

Copper Small coins A.H 883

6 NĀSIR Shāh. Silver Square A.H 907

الوائی بالصمد \* ابو المطفر ناصر شاد  
بن عیاث شاد الحلیی السلطان حلد ملکه

Copper A.H 907, 914

7 MĀHMŪD Shāh (Aḥmad ud-Dīn) Silver

الوائی بالملك المدی ابو المطفر محمود شاد  
بن ناصر شاد الحلیی السلطان حلد مملکه ۹۱۹

Copper A.H 917, 918

Copper A.H. 914

III THE MUHAMMADAN KINGS OF GUJARAT<sup>1</sup>

A.H. A.D.

|    |     |      |                                                                                                                                               |
|----|-----|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1  | 778 | 1376 | Farhat ul Mulk, appointed Viceroy by Firuz<br>فرحت الملک <sup>2</sup>                                                                         |
| 2  | 793 | 1390 | Zafar Khán supersedes him by order of Muhammad<br>bin Firuz, and eventually assumes independence<br>under the title of Mu'azzaf Shah مطفر شاد |
| 3  | 814 | 1411 | Ahmad Shah (grandson of Muzaffar Shah) builds<br>Ahmadabad and Ahmadnagar احمد شاد                                                            |
| 4  | 846 | 1442 | Muhammad Shah, son of Ahmad Shah محمد شاد<br>الکریم                                                                                           |
| 5  | 855 | 1451 | Kutb Shah (conflicts with Kumbho, Rana of<br>Mewar) مطفر شاد ساری                                                                             |
| 6  | 863 | 1458 | Daud Shah, son of Ahmad Shah داود شاد احمد شاد                                                                                                |
| 7  | 863 | —    | Mahmud Shah bin Muhammad, Bigara<br>محمد شاد سکرہ                                                                                             |
| 8  | 917 | 1511 | Muzaffar Shah II (wars with Rana Sanga)<br>مطفر شاد بن محمد شاد                                                                               |
| 9  | 932 | 1525 | Sikandar Shah سکندر شاد                                                                                                                       |
| 10 | 932 | —    | Mahmud Shah II bin Muzaffar Shah محمد شاد بن مطفر شاد                                                                                         |
| 11 | 932 | —    | Bahadur Shah <sup>3</sup> بادر شاد بن مطفر شاد                                                                                                |

<sup>1</sup> Fenshah Bombay Persian text, n. pp 350 440 Briggs 1 p 456 iv p 2 <sup>2</sup> *et seq.* Badāoni n. 129 Aīn-i Akbari n. p 92 Birds History of Gujarat p 174 Elphinstone p 761 Prinsep Useful Tables n. p 316

بعد کشہ شدن دامغانی اقطاع گھرت حوالہ ملکت میرح سلطان  
گرداسد و فرحت الملک حطاب کرد  
—Tārīkh-i Mubarak Shāhī MS A.H. 778  
سلطان الرشید الْحَرَب<sup>4</sup> King of the land martyr of the sea killed at  
Dā, in 943 A.H., by the Portuguese —Faria e Sousa

| NO | A H | A D  |                            |
|----|-----|------|----------------------------|
| 12 | 943 | 1536 | Muhammad Sháh Farukh       |
| 13 | 944 | 1537 | Mahmud Shah III            |
|    |     |      | سُهْمُود شاہ بن طَیْف حَان |
|    |     |      | بْن مُطَافِر شاہ           |
| 14 | 961 | 1553 | Ahmad Sháh                 |
| 15 | 969 | 1561 | Muzaffar Sháh III (Hábib)  |

Subdivision of the kingdom, and final annexation to Akbar's dominions in A H 980<sup>1</sup>

Elphinstone gives the following outline of the possessions of this dynasty —“When Gujarat separated from Dehli, the new king had but a narrow territory on the plain. On the N W were the independent rajas of Jhalor and Sirohi, from whom he occasionally levied contributions. The raja of Idar, another Rajput prince, was in possession of the western part of the hills. The rest of the hilly and forest tract was held by the mountain tribes of Bhils and Kulis, among whom some Rajput princes had founded petty states (Dongarpur, Bhanswarah, etc.) The peninsula was in the hands of nine or ten Hindu tribes who had mostly come from Cach and Sind, at different periods, some centuries before. They were probably tributary, but by no means obedient. The real possessions of the kings of Gujarat, therefore, only included the plain between the hills and the sea, and even of that the eastern part

<sup>1</sup> The whole collection from the government lands and those assigned in Jágir (in A D 1671) was 5 84 00 50 000 or 5 *arabs* 84 *krors* and 50 thousand Gujarat *lakhs*. There were in these days 100 *lakhs* to a rupee and the same as now (A D 1706) reckoned at 40 *ddhars* so that the whole amount would at the present time be equal to 5 *krors* 47 *laks* of rupees (5 84 00 000 Edtor's note) A sum also of "5 *laks* of *Huns* and 1 *kror* of *Ibrahimis* that were two parts greater being altogether equal to 5 *krors* 62 *laks* of rupees, was collected annually from the kings of the Dahhan etc —Bird's Gujarat, p 109

The silver currencies of the *Mahmud* and *Muzaffar* of Gujarat and Málwah are noticed in the *Ain-i-Akbari* and their intrinsic values specified with reference to other coinages —See Gladwin 1 p 17, Blochmann 1 p 23

belonged to the raja of Chámpánsír. On the other hand, the Gujarat territory stretched along the sea to the S E, so as to include the city of Surat and some of the country beyond it"

Ahmad Sháh

No 307 Silver Weight, 172 grs A.H. 823 Col Guthrie



احمد شاه بن محمد شاه  
بن مطمر شاه  
جلد حافظت

٨٢٨



السلطان الاعظم  
ناصر الدين و الدين  
ابوالفتح

Mahmud bin Latif  
No 308 Gold Weight, 183 grs A.H. 965 Col Guthrie



محمد شاه  
بن لطف شاه  
السلطان



الواشق بالله المتران  
ابوالفتح قطب  
الدينا والديس

٩٦٠

## GUJARAT COINS

3 NÁSIR UD-DÍN AHMAD Silver

a A.H 828 (Engraved above)

b Variety similar to a, but with square area on the reverse Weight, 175 grs  
Copper Small coins A.H 843

ناصر الدسا والدين احمد شاه السلطان \*

b Variety, in two sizes Square area reverse A.H 830, 831, 837, 840 843,  
845, 846

4 Ghús UD-DÍN MUHAMMAD. a Small coins Copper A.H 849, 850

عاث الدبي والدين محمد شاه السلطان

b Square coins A.H 856? Similar legends, with the prefix of  
أبو المحامد on one face and السلطان الاعظم on the other

7 MAHMUD Silver A.H 891, 903, 911

Silver and Copper A.H 870

Copper A.H 869, 900, 909, 917

8 MUZAFFAR SHÁH. Gold E.I collection A.H 929 Silver

Copper A.H 922, 923, 924, 928

10 MAHMUD II Silver

11 BAHADUR (KUTB-UD-DÍN) Silver

Copper A.H 937, 938, 940

قطب الدبي والدين أبو الفضل

أبو المظفر بادر شاه السلطان

13 MAHMUD BIN LATIF III. (KUTB-UD-DÍN)

Gold A.H 946, 947, 950 (960, engraved above)

Silver Struck at Muhammadabad. A.H. 961

Copper A.H 946, 947, 949

14 AHMAD SHÁH (KUTB-UD-DÍN)

Silver A.H 963 Copper A.H 961

15 MUZAFFAR SHAH BIN MAHMUD Gold, Weight, 185 grs A.H. 977

Silver A.H 969, 970 Copper A.H 969, 971, 978

المولى سايد الرحمن ناصر الدسا والدين

مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان ٩٧٧

Another contemporary dynasty, whose history is closely interwoven with the annals of Dehli, Málwah, and Gujarát, claims a passing notice, both for the heroism of its leaders, the interest attaching to the recovery of power by the Hindús, and the re-establishment of a kingdom which might possibly have progressed into a more permanent form had its adversaries been confined to the detached and weakened Muslim monarchies encircling its frontiers, but which was destined to fall, with the surrounding states of hostile creed, before the assaults of the alien Mughals, whom Bábár led into India.

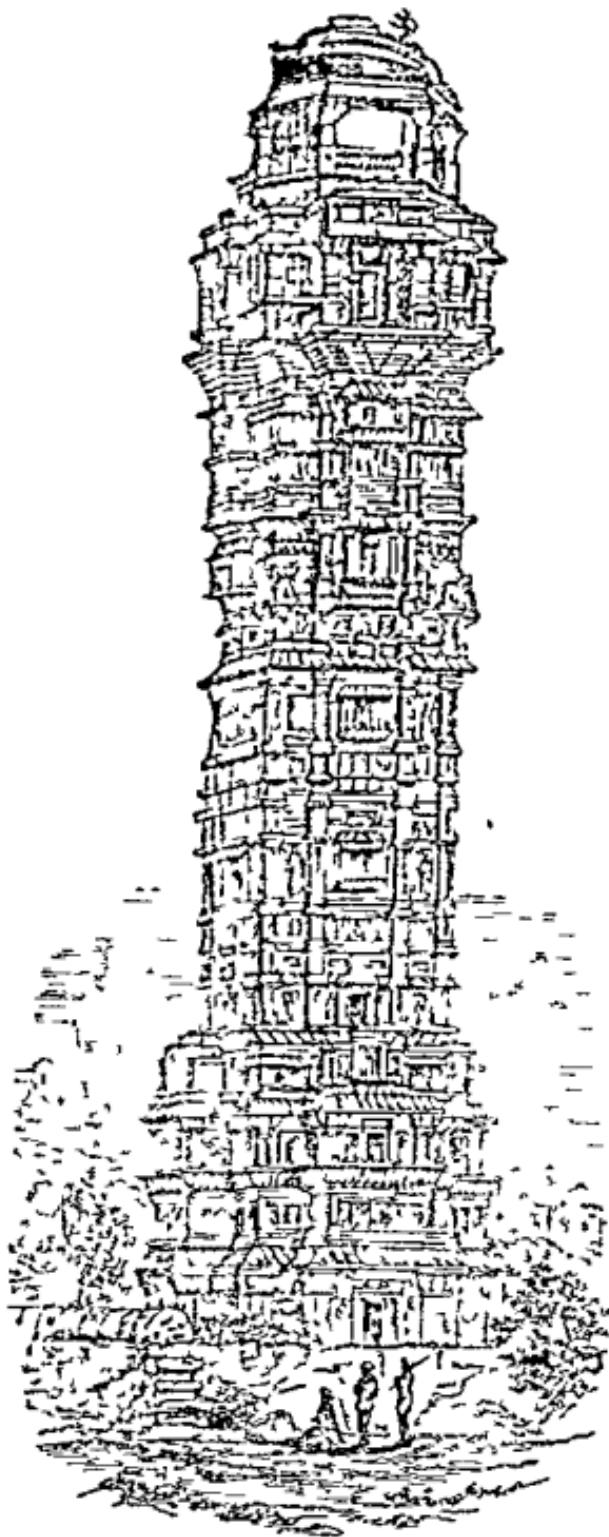
Khumbo's victory over the combined Muhammadan forces of Málwah and Gujarát is commemorated by the costly "pillar of victory," at Chítor, an engraving of which faces this page.<sup>1</sup> And Sanga's valour and success are alike proclaimed by his Hindú title of the "Kalas (or pinnacle) of Méwar's glory,"<sup>2</sup> and as frankly acknowledged in his conqueror's own memoirs.

#### Khumbo's MONUMENTAL "JAYA STAMBHA."

*"The only thing in India to compare with this pillar of victory, erected by Rána Khoombo on his defeat of the combined armies of Malwa and Gujardt, is the Kút Minár at Dehli. This column is 122 feet in height, the breadth of each face at the base is 35 feet. It has nine distinct stories. Around the chamber on the ninth story had been arranged on black marble tablets the whole genealogy of the Ranas of Chitor. Only one slab remains, the inscription on which records that 'in Samvat, 1515, the temple of Brimha was founded, and this year . . . this Khrut Stambha was finished'"—Tod, ii. 761. The subjoined engraving is taken from Ferguson's History of Architecture, ii. p. 635.*

<sup>1</sup> Another memorial of this success was preserved in the family, and finally passed into the possession of Bábár, who tells us that "when Rána Sanga defeated Sultán Mahmúd and made him prisoner, the Sultán had on a splendid crown cap (*Tijs-kuldh*) and golden girdle, which fell into the hands of the Pagan, who, when he set Sultán Mahmúd at liberty, returned them. They were now with Bikramajit. His elder brother, Ratansi, who had succeeded to his father as Rána, and who was now in possession of Chítor, had sent to desire his younger brother to give them up to him, which he refused to do. By the persons who now come to wait upon me, he now sent me this crown and golden girdle"—Erskine's Memoirs of Bábár, p. 385.

<sup>2</sup> Tod's Rajasthán, i. — 200.



PILLAR OF VICTORY AT CHITTOR.

## THE GEHLÓT KINGS OF MÉWAR.

| SAMVAT. | A.D. |                                                                                              |
|---------|------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1331    | 1275 | Chítor captured by 'Alá-ud-dín.                                                              |
| 1357    | 1301 | Accession of Hamir. He recovers Chítor.                                                      |
| 1421    | 1365 | Khaitsi.                                                                                     |
| 1439    | 1373 | Lakha Rána.                                                                                  |
| 1454    | 1398 | Mokulji.                                                                                     |
| 1475    | 1419 | Kumbho. (Defeats the armies of Gujarát and Málwah, and captures Mahmúd Khiljí in A.D. 1440.) |
| 1525    | 1469 | Ooda                                                                                         |
| 1530    | 1474 | Raimal                                                                                       |
| 1565    | 1509 | Sanga <sup>1</sup> (Finally defeated by Bábar, at Kanwa, in 1527 A.D.)                       |

Coins of Rána Kumbho and of his grandson, Sanga, were engraved and published by James Prinsep in 1835.<sup>2</sup>

No. 309 Copper. Square. Fig. 26. Prinsep.

*Obverse*—कम्भक Kambhaka, with the symbol  $\boxed{+}$ : dotted margin outside the square area.

*Reverse*—एकलिंग Eklinga (the celebrated temple near Oodipúr).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Singram Sing*, "the lion of war"—Tod, i. p. 292

<sup>2</sup> Jour. As Soc. Bengal, pl. iv figs. 24, 25, 26. See also Prinsep's Essays, vol. i p. 293, pl. xxiv. Prinsep was able to decipher only two letters of the name of Kumbho कम्भ. The full reading has been communicated to me by General Cunningham, who is in possession of better specimens of the coins in question.

<sup>3</sup> "The strange gods of the Jumna and Ganges have withdrawn a portion of the zeal of the Gehlotes from their patron divinity Eklinga, whose dwāra (Ekling ई द्वारा) or vice-gerent is the Rána. The temple of Eklinga, situated in one of the narrow defiles leading to the capital (six miles north of Oodipúr) is an immense structure, though more sumptuous than elegant. It is built entirely of white marble, most elaborately carved and embellished. . . . The brazen bull, placed under his own dome, facing the sanctuary of the phallus, is nearly of the natural size, in a recumbent posture. It is cast (hollow) of good shape, highly polished, and without flaw, except where the hammer of the Tatar had opened a passage in the hollow of the flank in search of a 'treasure'—Tod, i. pp. 222, 515

The jealousy displayed by Mahmúd Khiljí at Rána Kumbho's presuming to coin money is amusingly recorded by Ferishtah

وهم در آن ایام سلطان محمود حلیق متوجه ولایت حستور  
کردید رانا کویها از طریق مدار او مواسا پیش آمدہ پاره ررو نفره  
مسکوکت پیشکش فرساد و چون آن سکه رانا کویها داشت باعث  
اردیاد عصی مسعودی کردندہ پیشکش را پس فرساد

—Ferishtah, text, ii p 495, Briggs, iv p 221

### SANGA

No 310 Copper Samvat, 1580, A.D. 1523 Figs 24 25 Prinsep  
Obverse—श्री राण संग्रामसिंह स १५८० Sri Sangrama Sinha Sam 1580  
Reverse—Trisul and Swastika emblems

### THIRTY SECOND KING (A.H. 855<sup>1</sup>–894, A.D. 1450–1488)

The vigorous rule of the Afghán Buhlol Lódi offers a strong contrast to the inane weakness of the sway of the two mis called Syuds who preceded him. His lengthened supremacy of thirty-eight years, however, affords but little of variety to dilate upon. The principal characteristics of his domination being defined in the energetic and successful subjection of his local governors, and a prolonged war, marked by the utmost determination on both sides, with the kings of Jaun-

<sup>1</sup> Buhlol's actual accession is fixed, in the History of the Afgháns, edited by Dorn, at 17th Rabi ul awwal, 855 A.H. *Vide* page 46, edit. Oriental Translation Fund. Nizám ud-dín and Badí'í concur.

pur for a long time neither one party nor the other can be said to have obtained any very decided advantage, such as might have been expected to result from the great efforts made on either side. The balance of success generally terminated in favour of the monarch of Dehli, and at length, in the year 893 A.H., after a twenty six years' war, he finally re annexed the kingdom of Jaunpur to his own empire. It is recorded of this Sultan, that, unlike Eastern monarchs in general, he was no respecter of pomps and ceremonies, remarking "that it was enough for him that the world knew he was king, without his making a vain parade of royalty."

No 311 (pl v fig 162) Silver (impure) Average weight, 144.4 grs Common A.H. 858, 859, 860, 861, 863, 876, 879, 882, 887, 888, 889, 890, 892, 893, 895

|               |              |
|---------------|--------------|
| بى رس         | المتوكل على  |
| امير المؤمنين | الرحمن بهلول |
| حدت حافظه     | شاه سلطان    |
| * * *         | محضرت دهلي   |

No 312 Silver and Copper Weight, 52 grs

Obverse—سلول شاه سلطان محضرت دهلي

Reverse—الخلفه امير المؤمنين حدت حافظه

No 313 Copper Average weight, 71 grs A.H. 855, 863, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 873, 875, 877, 878, 879, 887, 888

Obverse—سلول شاه سلطان

Reverse—دار الملك دهلي

No 314 Copper Weight, 67 grs A.H 886, 889, 893, 894

Obverse—Legend similar to No 313

Reverse—۸۷۶ \* \* *الصلوة*

No 315 Copper Average weight, 140 grs A.H 877, 878, 879, 892

Obverse { Centre—*صلول شاد*  
Margin—*السلطان*

Reverse—۸۷۷ *نایب امر المؤمنین*

I subjoin the results of some assays of coins of Buhlol Lodi and his son Sikandar, conducted under the native process —

|   |         |             |                                  |
|---|---------|-------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 | A.H 858 | Wt 138 grs  | Result—Silver, 0 grs (No 311)    |
| 2 | A.H 859 | Wt 143 grs  | Result—Silver, 15 3 grs (No 311) |
| 3 | A.H 882 | Wt 145 grs  | Result—Silver, 14 grs (No 311)   |
| 4 | A.H 893 | Wt. 141 grs | Result—Silver, 6 7 grs (No 311)  |

#### Sikandar bin Buhlol

|   |         |             |                                    |
|---|---------|-------------|------------------------------------|
| 5 | A.H 904 | Wt 136 grs  | Result—Silver, 7 grs (No 316)      |
| 6 | A.H 910 | Wt 134 grs  | Assayed together, total } (No 316) |
| 7 | A.H 918 | Wt. 139 grs | { result, a mere trace } (No 316)  |
| 8 | A.H 919 | Wt 139 grs  | of silver } (No 316)               |
| 9 | A.H ?   | Wt 137 grs  | Result—Silver, 5 grs (No 316)      |

#### NOTE ON THE COINS OF BUHLOL LODI

Amid the chance references to the cost of articles of everyday consumption, and other current prices to be found in the works of Indian authors, who flourished shortly after the reign of Buhlol Lodi, we meet with frequent repetition of the term *Buhlol*, as applied to a recognized and quasi-standard coin of the period<sup>1</sup> Abul Fazl, the comprehensive

<sup>1</sup> "In Ibrahim bin Sikandar's time, corn, clothes, and every kind of merchandise were cheaper than they had ever been known to be in any other reign,

and whose exact counterpart, singular to say, declares itself in the earliest scheme of Egyptian Metrology under the nearly parallel term, which the hieroglyphics render as 2 KeT.<sup>1</sup>

To all appearance the recognized weight retained in full its theoretical place and position in India, though practically as tangible money it is found to be represented by two single *Karsha* pieces. Of this latter coin of 140 grains, we can quote continuous examples, ranging from the archaic copper coins of Rámadatta<sup>2</sup> to the coarse mintages of the early Patháns,<sup>3</sup> and onwards, in consecutive order, till Buhlól Lódi assimilated their fabric to the type and execution of his mintages in the higher metals; but the vitality and immutability of the ancient measure is proved triumphantly by its acceptance, so to say, intact, in all the minor mints under Bábar,

The *Mitálshára* (circa A.D. 1049) defines the *Kársika* as "measured by a *Karsha* (*Karshenamita*)," and the copper *Karsha* itself is described as *Tímrasya Viśára*, or "copper transformed," i.e. worked up from its crude metallic state into some generally recognized form.—Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, p 404, Prinsep's Essays, I. p 53, G. Buhler, *Bombay Branch Jour Roy As Soc* October, 1868, Cowell, in *Elphinstone*, p 89, Burnouf, *Intro à l'Hist Bud.* pp 236, 258, Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, pp 119, etc. *Bombay Jour As Soc* (1853) (1854) p 1., *Inscriptions*, pp 3, 9, (1862) p 1, and (1863) p 1, *et seq.* See also *Yájnavalkya*, § 363, *Amara Kosha*, II. pp 9, 86.

#### <sup>1</sup> ANCIENT EGYPTIAN WEIGHTS

- A. Circa 1400 grains = MeN, or VTEN (Maneh?).
- B. Circa 700 grains = 5 KeT.
- C. Circa 280 grains = (2 KeT)
- D. Circa 140 grains = KeT.
- E. Circa 70 grains = (½ KeT).

The copper coins of the Ptolemies follow this standard, their gold and silver standards adhere to the Aegyptian weight.—R. S. Poole, *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, III. p 1732

<sup>1</sup> Prinsep's Essays, I. p 216, pl xx figs 47, 48.

<sup>2</sup> Balban's copper coin, No. 114, seems to have been a half *Karsha*. So also the piece of Jalál-ud-din Firuz, No. 123, and others in succession.

where copper was struck as an inferior metal, and left to assert its own value, for, to its surface, the conqueror, following the custom of the west, declined to attach his name.

The author of the "Institutes of the Emperor Akbar" gives a second or alternative definition of the value and intrinsic contents of the assimilated *paisa*, *Buhlóli*, or *dám*, as equal to five *tanks*. Whatever doubt might once have existed as to the measure of this weight, is now satisfactorily set at rest by the coins themselves; the *tank*, in short, is merely the old *dharana* of 32 *ratis* (or 56 grains)<sup>1</sup> which, even at the remote period of the crude tabulation of weights, under the simple nomenclature of the seeds of the earth, from whence their denominations were chiefly obtained—had already acquired the optional name of *purána*, "old."

The two systems are fully represented in the current coinage of the Patháns, and conjointly offered considerable facilities for the settlement of broken change. The 40 *double kárshas*, or 80 current *single kárshas*, or 160 *half-kárshas* (No. 183), were equal to 200 copper *tanks*, either of which amounts represented the established value of a silver *tankah*.<sup>2</sup>

In respect to the weights of copper, in either case, the totals ran 280 grains  $\times$  40 = 11200 grains, and 56  $\times$  200 = 11200 grains.

These figures have an additional importance in the present

<sup>1</sup> See p. 221 *ante*, Babar's Table of Weights, 32 *ratis* = 1 *tang*.

<sup>2</sup> Sir H. Elliot has preserved a curious record of the practical working of the intricate sub divisional exchanges of the lower coinage under the head of "Damri" *दमड़ी*. In the Dehli territory, the term is applied to the sub-divisions of a village. Thus in Gopálpur, of Rohtak, there are 150 *damris*, each *damri* being equivalent to twenty five *Lachha bighas*. But *damri* is commonly known as a nominal coin, equal to 3½ or 3½ *dams*; or between two and three *gandas*—so that a *damri* varies from 8 to 12 *cooris*, according to the good-will and pleasure

instance, as they establish conclusively what was heretofore somewhat of a matter of conjecture,<sup>1</sup> that the ratio of copper to silver was 64:1 ( $11200 \div 175 = 64$ ).

of unscrupulous Banyas. It may be useful to subjoin from the 'Diwán Pasand' a table showing the value of *damris* and *ddms*:-

|    |                    |     |                            |
|----|--------------------|-----|----------------------------|
| 1  | <i>damri</i> ..... | 3½  | <i>ddms</i> .              |
| 2  | " .....            | 6½  | ,, ..... 1 <i>chhaddm.</i> |
| 3  | " .....            | 9½  | "                          |
| 4  | " .....            | 12½ | ,, ..... 1 <i>adhela.</i>  |
| 5  | " .....            | 15  | "                          |
| 6  | " .....            | 18½ | ,, ..... ½ <i>paisa.</i>   |
| 7  | " .....            | 22  | "                          |
| 8  | " .....            | 25  | ,, ..... 1 <i>PAISA.</i>   |
| 9  | " .....            | 28  | "                          |
| 10 | " .....            | 31½ | ,, ..... 1½ "              |
| 11 | " .....            | 34½ | "                          |
| 12 | " .....            | 37½ | ,, ..... 1½ "              |
| 13 | " .....            | 40  | "                          |
| 14 | " .....            | 44  | ,, ..... 1½ "              |
| 15 | " .....            | 47  | "                          |
| 16 | " .....            | 50  | ,, ..... 1 <i>TAKA.</i>    |

The table is given with some slight variations in the 'Zubdatu'l Kawánin,' but in neither are the smaller fractional amounts given with correctness." Sir H. Elliot, at the same time, is careful to warn us that the popular *ddms* quoted in this table have nothing in common with the *ddms* of Akbar's revenue accounts (ii. p. 81).

## THIRTY-THIRD KING (A.H. 894-923; A.D. 1488-1517).

Some time before his decease, Buhlól had nominated as his successor his son Nizám, who, not altogether without opposition, ascended the imperial *masnad* under the title of Sikandar Sháh. In the division of his dominions in 883 A.H., the Sultán had assigned the kingdom of Jaunpúr to his son Bárbaik. On attaining supreme power, Sikandar demanded the nominal allegiance of his brother in the still cherished recitation of his own name in the public prayers of the country over which Bárbaik ruled; this homage being denied, it was deemed necessary to compel its concession by force of arms. In the action which ensued, Bárbaik was worsted, but was subsequently forgiven, and reinstated in his government. During the succeeding years the Sultán was occupied in the subjection of Sultán Sharf, which was completed by the capture of his stronghold of Bíána, and in the suppression of two somewhat formidable insurrections in Jaunpúr and Oude. In 897 A.H., Sikandar extended his conquests over the whole of Bibár, dispossessing Husain, the last of the regal line of the Sharjis, who was forced to take refuge with 'Alá-ud-dín, king of Bengal. With this monarch the ruler of Dehli arrived at a satisfactory understanding, involving a mutual recognition of boundaries and other rights. In 909 A.H., the Sultán, for the first time, fixed his residence at Agrah, which henceforth was to supersede Dehli as the metropolis of Hindústán. Sikandar's reign was disgraced by an unusual display of bigotry, evidenced principally in a persevering destruction of Hindú temples, on the sites of which were raised Muslim mosques.

No 316 (pl v fig 167) Copper Average weight, 139 grs  
 A II 891, 895, 896, 898, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906  
 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918,  
 919, 920

في روس

الموكول على الرحمن

امير المؤمنين

سکدر شاد

حليت حلاي

سلول شاد سلطان

٩٠٦

محضرت دهلي

No 317 Copper Average weight, 55.5 grs  
 A II 905, 907

الموكول على الرحمن سکدر شاد سلول شاد—  
 Obverseامير المؤمنين حليت حلاي—  
 Reverse

## NOTE ON SIKANDAR LODI'S COINAGE

As Buhlool Lodi's name is associated with a fixed money value in account, involving a seeming return to a partially obscured system of reckoning, so his son Sikandar's title is identified with a coinage which took a more definite and prominent position amid the succeeding currencies of the land. These two issues, confessedly composed of different metals, might at first sight be supposed to have but little in common, but on a more close examination the Sikandari *tankah* is found to have formed the connecting link between the *Buhlooli* and the *dam* of *Shir Sháh*, there is one break, however, in the completeness of this continuity, inasmuch as the *Buhlooli* was made up of two *karshas*, while the Sikandari *tankah* doubled that amount, twenty pieces constituting the change for a *silah tankah*, instead of the 40 *Buhloolis* or 80 *karshas* of the previous scheme of exchange.

In the one case the design seems to have been to reintroduce the division by 40 to the supercession of the complicated 64 *lānis*, with its attendant gradational proportions of silver and copper; in the second instance, the same motive is more definitely developed in the rate established of 20 Sikandaris to the *silver tankah*, and the complete rejection of all traces of 64ths, inasmuch as the value of the new piece would not accord with any of the established *lāni* pieces, nor would it even range with an imaginary division of half a *Shashkáni*. The reverting to the alloy of mixed silver and copper regained all the old advantages of the portability of the coin, and all objection to the use of composite metal was removed in the limitation of the entire issue to one average value; while, on the other hand, the difficulty and loss incident to the recovery of the silver from this money for the construction of ornaments, etc., secured for it a permanency in its coined form which pure silver and gold could never have commanded.

The estimate of intrinsic contents derived from the accompanying Assay Table gives the rough average of silver to each coin as 5 647 grains; and adding the price of the copper basis at the rate of 64 copper to one of silver, we get something over a total silver value of 7.747 grains.<sup>1</sup> The parallel  $\frac{1}{40}$ th of the 175 grains of the *full silver tankah* would be 8.750 grains, so that the combined metals furnish a very

<sup>1</sup> This is merely a tentative calculation, taking 41 coins to the lb (it should be more exactly 41 142). Then  $299\ 1148 \times 24 = 7178\ 7552 \div 41 = 175\ 09208 \div 31 = 5.64813$ , average grains of silver per coin. Copper contents remaining, 140 - 5 648 = 134 353, at 64 grains per grain of silver = 2 0989 grains, or a total silver value of 7.74703 grains. Gen Cunningham's assay, by the native process, gives a much lower average of silver contents, rising only to 4 18 grains per coin. See p. 324, *anté*. But in neither one case nor the other need we expect any very uniform results. The Calcutta table itself furnishes ample evidence of the irregularity of the action of the Dehli Mint, which we have seen, by Firuz's own confession (p. 281), had very much its own way in regard to the equitable value of the mixed metal coins put forth from time to time.

fair approximation to the value theoretically required, especially if we make allowances for the very imperfect manner in which the two metals were obviously amalgamated and distributed in the general mass.

List of Dehli Coins, composed of silver and copper, in varying proportions, forwarded to the Calcutta Mint for examination by Edward Thomas, Esq., C.S., 10th June, 1853

| A II | Reference to<br>Numbers of Coins in<br>Pathan Sultans' | Weight in Grains | Dwts.<br>Fine Silver per lb<br>in each |
|------|--------------------------------------------------------|------------------|----------------------------------------|
|      | SIKANDAR BURHOL                                        |                  |                                        |
| 895  | No 316                                                 | 143 438          | 1 900                                  |
| 896  | "                                                      | 142 163          | 2 025                                  |
| "    | "                                                      | 142 936          | 1 925                                  |
| "    | "                                                      | 138 913          | 1 615                                  |
| "    | "                                                      | 140 088          | 2 200                                  |
| 898  | "                                                      | 141 500          | 1 5625                                 |
| 900  | "                                                      | 140 800          | 2 6000                                 |
| "    | "                                                      | 127 600          | 3 0125                                 |
| 903  | "                                                      | 143 100          | 4 650                                  |
| 904  | "                                                      | 142 500          | 5 624                                  |
| 907  | "                                                      | 143 250          | 15 5                                   |
| "    | "                                                      | 141 150          | 16 0                                   |
| "    | "                                                      | 139 900          | 16 0                                   |
| 905  | "                                                      | 144 500          | 17 5                                   |
| 909  | "                                                      | 141 500          | 15 0                                   |
| 910  | "                                                      | 140 200          | 15 0                                   |
| 912  | "                                                      | 142 500          | 12 0                                   |
| "    | "                                                      | 135 500          | 15 0                                   |
| 913  | "                                                      | 132 250          | 15 0                                   |
| "    | "                                                      | 140 750          | 15 0                                   |
| 914  | "                                                      | 110 000          | 15 0                                   |
| "    | "                                                      | 138 500          | 15 5                                   |
| "    | "                                                      | 141 000          | 16 5                                   |
| "    | "                                                      | 140 500          | 16 0                                   |
| 918  | "                                                      | 138 250          | 10 0                                   |
| "    | "                                                      | 133 250          | 10 0                                   |
| "    | "                                                      | 139 750          | 9 0                                    |
| "    | "                                                      | 125 000          | 8 0                                    |
| 919  | "                                                      | 135 250          | 32 0                                   |
| "    | "                                                      | 137 250          | 8 0                                    |
| "    | "                                                      | 137 500          | 8 0                                    |

Under the written evidence of contemporary and other authors, the authoritative value of the Sikandari is equally well established in its full identity. Bâbar, in his Memoirs, advertises to his own gift to his son Humâyûn, on the occasion of the distribution of the accumulated treasures of the *Lôdis*, as amounting to "70 *laks*," we must conclude of current coin Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad specifies the like sum of undefined but manifestly ordinary coin;<sup>1</sup> Khwândamîr more explicitly designates the gift as being composed of Sikandari *tankahs*,<sup>2</sup> and Ferishtah, to complete the definition, capitalizes the sum in more modern currencies as "350,000 rupees,"<sup>3</sup> which determines the ruling value of the piece at two *dâms*, or a sufficient approach to the amount which the intrinsic contents of the coins now assayed would average. Furthermore, the system of computing by double *dams* was clearly widely spread and of very general acceptance;<sup>4</sup> so much so that Akbar himself is found to have provided a special copper coin of that denomination, truly of very inconvenient proportions,<sup>5</sup> seem-

<sup>1</sup> Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad *Bakhshî*, who was learned in currencies, fixes the sum of "70 *laks*," as given to Humâyûn, but there is no specification of any particular coin. The text runs—

حراین برکشاده هفتاد لک شاهزاده  
عالمیان محمد همایون مرزا ایام فرموده امرارا ده لک و هشت  
لک و شش لک و پنجه لک

p 132, E I MS, etc

<sup>2</sup> I have little hesitation in correcting his "7 *laks*," into 70. Most of these references were collected by Erskine (History of Bâbar and Humâyûn, II, p 544) He, however, missed the passage from Nizám-ud-dín, and in the absence of the coins, properly hesitated to correct the seven *laks* of Khwândamîr, whose information was otherwise most exact, as he was a contemporary and well informed author. See Elliot's Index, p 108, Ferishtah, Briggs, II, p 48

سے لکھ و پنچاہ هزار روپیہ تقدیم  
p 282 Khâfi Khân has—

پنچاہ هزار تکہ تقریباً رائج وقت p 53, Calcutta text.

<sup>3</sup> See Sir H. Elliot's table, quoted p 364, Erskine's Bâbar, I, pp 542-4.

<sup>4</sup> Such a piece is extant in the British Museum, weighing 664 grains, an

ingly more designed to meet the contingency of an appeal to such a weight in its legalized form than for any purposes of practical utility in the general circulation

T INSCRIPTIONS AT DELHI OF SIKANDAR BIN BUHLOL.

- 1 Dated A.H. 903, on the Dargah of Yusaf Katál
- 2 Dated A.H. 906, on the bastion of Shahab ud din Taj Khan
- 3 Dated A.H. 909, on the lower entrance of the Kutb Minar
- 4 Dated A.H. 912, to the following effect —

در عهد دولت همایون سلطان الاعظم المعظم المتوكل على الرحمن  
سکندر شاہ بن بیلول شاہ سلطان حمد الله ملکہ و سلطانہ سا کرد  
ایں کسد سدہ امیدوار رحمت پرورد کار دولت حاں حواحہ محمد  
عره ماد رحی سه اٹی عشر و سعماۃ

- 5 Dated A.H. 913, on the arch of the Makbarah of Firuz Sháh  
(p. 310, *ante*)

THE YARD MEASURE OR GAZ OF SIKANDAR LODI

Abul Fazl, in noticing the various descriptions of yard-measures introduced at different times into Hindustan, makes incidental mention of certain coins designated Sikandaris—upon the basis of a given number of diameters of which the *gaz* of Sikandar Lodi was authoritatively defined. The class of money described under No. 316 evidently furnished, among other uses, the data for this singularly defined measure. Any tyro in Indian Numismatics, under whose eye specimens of this mintage may chance to pass, cannot fail to remark that, imperfect as their configuration undoubtedly is, as compared amount which is rather over the estimated ratio but the coin is sharp unworn and is perhaps, affected by the oxydation of its once clear surface

with our modern machine-struck money—yet, that they hold a high place among their predecessors in respect to their improved circularity of form, and general uniformity of diameter—points which had certainly been less regarded in the earlier products of the Dehli mints

The passage alluded to is to the following textual effect —

سلطان سکندر لودھی در ھندوستان سرگردی در میان آورد و آنرا  
چهل و یک و سه اسکندری انداره گرفت \* و آن مسی نقدی است  
گرد بعرا آمر \* حست آشای سه دیگر افروز و پچل و دو قراد گرفت \*  
متدار آن سی و دو انگشت بود \* و از پیش حکما سر ندیسان  
برگدارید \* و در رمان شرحاں و سلم حاں \* نعم گر پس مودید تا  
سال سی و یکم الهی اگرچہ در گر پاس گرا اکرشاہی بود و پچل و شش  
انگشت بر از لکن در ر راعمت و عمارت اسکندری نکار داشتے

—Calcutta text, p. 296

With a view to make these coins, even at the present day, contribute towards our knowledge of the true length of this gaz which is still a *terata quæstio*, I have carefully measured a set of 42 of these pieces, arranged in one continuous line, the result is, that the completion of the 30th inch of our measure falls exactly opposite the centre of the 42nd coin

The specimens selected for trial have not been picked, beyond the rejection of five very palpably worn pieces, out of the total 48 of Mr Bayley's coins which I have at my disposal

The return now obtained I should be disposed to look upon as slightly below the original standard, notwithstanding that it differs from the determination of the measure put forth by Prinsep,<sup>1</sup> but I must add that Prinsep himself distrusted

<sup>1</sup> Prinsep's Essays Useful Tables pp. 123 126

mechanical appliances, and to all appearance the presiding authorities of the period scarcely contemplated exceptional exactitude in this summary but ever ready test. No doubt the fiscal administrators were furnished with critical official standards, but the immediate object in view in the present adjustment seems to have been to supply the mass of unlettered purchasers with a prompt means of checking the professional frauds of the shopkeepers,<sup>1</sup> so that the simple exhibition of a row of Sikandaris, the leading current coin of the realm, on the counter, would on the instant determine the fullness or deficiency of the tradesman's yard, constituting, in brief, a popular ready reckoner, especially adapted to the notions and traditions of the indigenes. I freely accept Abul Fazl's suggestion, that this *gaz* was no new measure of length introduced by Sikandar, the original (and possibly aboriginal) *gaz* was already obviously in full use and recognition, and Akbar himself, with all his needless but otherwise systematic innovations, had to confess, in the 31st year of his reign, that though he had carried his own *Akbari gaz* of 46 finger breadths into the cloth merchants' shops, that the Sikandari *gaz* of 32 fingers was still "employed for every other purpose," and thus he confessedly met the difficulty by subsiding into the compromise of the *Ilahi gaz* of 41 fingers.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See p. 164 *ante*.

<sup>2</sup> These numbers are suggestive—the ancient 32 (or half of 64) as superseded by the irregular totals of the Muslim theory. Abul Fazl further confesses that "in some ancient books (کس نامہ) the *gaz* is said to consist of two spans and two inches (دو شر و دو گز), and this *gaz* is divided into 16 equal parts (گز), each of which was subdivided into quarters called *pahar* (چھپ مہر), so that the *pahar* was the  $\frac{1}{64}$  of a *gaz*. —Gladwin & Aym in Akbar, II, p. 302, Calcutta text, p. 294.

In connexion with this question of normal Indian numbers, I may refer to the archaic Dravidian *kans* in the existing land measures of the south—Prinsep Useful Tables p. 124.

Those earnest men who followed the pioneers of our conquest in Upper India, and who were content to identify themselves with the nation over whom they were appointed to rule, displayed much interest in the determination of the imperfectly preserved definitions of the Iláhí *gaz*. It was somewhat of a cardinal point with comparative strangers, who had to assimilate their feelings to local prejudices, to prove themselves in advance of the crude knowledge which insisted upon the supremacy of provincial standards, and so it came about that all sorts of positive data were put under contribution to establish the infinitesimal *unit* from which the more ample and enlarged land measures of Akbar's empire were avowedly derived. Hence investigations were instituted under many varied aspects—open tradition, extant buildings of historically defined measurement, barley corns of primeval repute, home and foreign men's fore arms and fingers' breadths, square Akbari rupees, and very modern round "Mansúri" *paisa*, were pressed into the service. But, perhaps, the best and closest estimate was furnished by the crucial test of the "average of copper wires returned by the Tahsildárs of Murádábad as the counterparts of the actual measures from which their *bighas* (*quasi-acres*) were formed," amounting to an average of 33 50 inches per *gaz*, on the rough calculation of three-fourths of an inch for each finger breadth<sup>1</sup>.

In the end, for all practical purposes of modern measurements, the Government of the day (1825-6) adopted, as a convenient solution, an arbitrary value for the Iláhí *gaz* of 33 English inches.

<sup>1</sup> Prinsep's Essays, vol. II., Useful Tables, p. 123, Jour. As Soc. Bengal, in p. 88, and Mr. Cracroft's paper, vol. II: 360, Elliot's Glossary, "Kos and Jarib," in pp. 189, 194.

## THIRTY-FOURTH KING (A.H. 923-937; A.D. 1517-1530).

Ibráhím succeeded his father Sikandar; from the very commencement of his reign his arrogance disgusted the nobles of his own tribe of Lódi, who speedily sought to reduce his power by placing his brother, Jalál, on the throne of the kingdom of Jaunpúr. Having compassed this purpose, however, some doubt arose as to the wisdom of their own act, and hence an attempt was made to weaken Jalál by the withdrawal of several Amírs who had joined his standard. Jalál, detecting this design, determined upon active measures to secure himself; he therefore collected his forces and advanced to Kálpi, assuming the style of Sultán, with the title of Jalál-ud-dín. He next entered into negotiations with 'Ázim Humáyún, who held Kálinjar for Ibráhím, and at length induced him to desert the cause of the Emperor. 'Ázim Humáyún failed at the time of need, and Jalál was reduced to a position of much difficulty, from which, however, he had a favourable opportunity of extricating himself, by the success of a sudden march upon Agra, which he found almost undefended; but, from some strange infatuation, he allowed himself to be deluded into treating with the governor of the city, and on the advance of Ibráhím he was compelled to flee to Gwálior, where he received a temporary shelter; he was, ultimately, after various adventures and escapes, captured and put to death.

The alarm excited by the unrestrained cruelties dictated by the distrustful disposition of the Sultán, led to numerous other revolts: among the rest, Daria Khán, viceroy of Bihár, openly disclaimed allegiance; and his son, Muhammad, who

shortly succeeded him, even caused the Khutbah to be read, and coin to be struck, in his own name<sup>1</sup> Daulat Lodi, the governor of some of the dependencies of the Punjab, also rebelled, and solicited the protection of Bábar, who had already, in 930 A.H., obtained possession of Láhor. Subsequently, an expedition was organized against the ruler of Dehli under his own uncle, 'Alá-ud dín, but in the engagement which ensued, the contingent of the Mughals was defeated with great slaughter. This was followed by the advance of Bábar in person, and on the 7th of Rajab, 932 A.H., on the celebrated battle field of Paniput, Ibráhím, after an individually well contested though ill directed action, lost his kingdom and his life.

No 318 Copper Weight, 83 grs Rare

|             |                    |
|-------------|--------------------|
| مسی روس     | المستوکل على       |
| امیر المؤمن | الرحمن ابراهيم شاه |
| حلفت حلقہ   | سکندر شاد          |
|             | سلطان              |

No 319 Copper Weight, 87 grs Rare

Obverse— ابراهيم شاد سلطان

Reverse— امیر المؤمن حلفت حلقہ

No 320 Copper Weight, 42 grs Rare A.H. 926, 927

Obverse— \* \* ابراهيم شاد سکندر

Reverse— ۹۲۶-۹۲۷ امیر المؤمن حلفت حلقہ

<sup>1</sup> Gladwin : Ayn : Akbari

No. 321. Copper. Weight, 110 grs. Col. Guthrie.



ابراهیم شاد لودی



السلطان

ن

بن سکندر

السلطان

The issue of this coin, which follows the Málwah *square* type of money, is supposed to commemorate the fraudulent acquisition of Chandéri by Ibrāhīm, who, taking advantage of the death of Muhammad Sháh (the rebel opponent of his regnant brother, Mahmúd of Málwah), obtained possession of the person of his heir, and placed a dependent of his own in charge of the country, from whence it passed in later days, by Rána Sanga's gift, to Madíni Ráo.

## Bárbak of Jaunpúr.

No. 322. Silver and Copper. Weight, 120 grs. Rare.

A.H. 892, 894.



نائب



Centre.

امير المؤمنين

بارسکشاد

بشهر حنپور

سلطان

۸۹۲

Margin illegible.

## THE MUGHAL (CHAGHATAI) CONQUEST.

The narrative of Bábár's persevering efforts towards the conquest of India, and the eventful career of his son Humáyún, are, perhaps, more pertinent to general history than germane to the limited notices of the local succession of the Pathán dynasty of Hindústán, with which we are immediately concerned. It may, therefore, be sufficient to indicate more concisely than usual the dates of the prominent occurrences in the Indian reigns of the two monarchs, under the tabular form already adopted, where it was felt desirable to economize space in these pages

## BÁBÁR IN INDIA.

<sup>A.H.</sup> 932 <sup>A.D.</sup> 1526 (9th Rajab.) Defeat and death of Ibráhím *Lódi*, at Paniput.

(12th Rajab) Bábár enters Dehli; on the Friday following he has public prayers pronounced in his name as Emperor; and with proper Mughal craving for plunder, has seals put upon the treasures of the old metropolis,<sup>1</sup> while he hastens on to Agra to secure the accumulated wealth of the house of *Lódi*.<sup>2</sup>

Capture of Jaunpúr by Humáyún.

Surrender of Bíána, Gwálior, and Multán.

<sup>1</sup> In a similar spirit, Humáyún broke these seals on his "way home in 1527, and appropriated his father's money."—Bábár's Memoirs, pp 368, 371, Erskine's History, 1. p 476

<sup>2</sup> Bábár himself, in his Memoirs, has left upon record a concise epitome of the distribution of power in India at the moment of his conquest in A.D. 1526. "At the period when I conquered the country, five Musulmán kings and two pagans exercised royal authority . . . One of these powers was the Afgháns, whose government included the capital, and extended from Behráh to Bihár . . . Jaunpúr, before it fell into the power of the Afgháns, was held by Husain Shih Sharqi . . . The second prince was Sultán Muhammád Muzaffar, in Gujarát; he had departed this life a few days before Sultán Ibráhím *Lódi*'s defeat . . . The

<sup>A.H. A.D.</sup>

933 1527 Defeat of Rána Sanga at Kanwah, Bábár assumes the title of Ghází on this occasion.

934 1528 Capture of Chandéri (Madíni Rao's stronghold) (29th Jumada'l akhir) Occupation of Lucknow (5th Muharram, 935) Occupation of Rantambhor

935 1529 (Sh'aban) Bihár subdued and entrusted to Muhammad Zamán Mírza (27th Sh'aban) Final defeat of the troops of the Afghan coalition Treaty with Nuṣrat Shah of Bengal

937 1530 (5th Jumáda I áakhir) Bábár's death at Agra<sup>1</sup>

### HUMÁTÚY IN INDIA

937 1530 (9th Jumáda'l awwal) Accession Division of governments—1 *Kamran*,<sup>2</sup> Kábul and Kandahar, 2 *Askari Mirza*, Sambhal, 3 *Hindal Mirza*, Alwar (Mewat), 4 *Sulaiman Mirza*, Badakhshan Kámrán takes Lahor and occupies the Punjab

third kingdom is that of the Bahmanis in the Dakhan, but at the present time the Sultáns of the Dakhan have no authority or power left. The fourth king was Sultán Mahmúd who reigned in the country of Málwah which they likewise call Mándú. This dynasty was called the Khilji. Rána Sanga a pagan, had defeated them and occupied a number of their provinces. The fifth prince was Nuṣrat Sháh in the kingdom of Bengal. The most powerful of the pagan princes, in point of territory and army, is the Rája of Bijanagar. Another is Rána Sanga, who has attained his present high eminence only in these later times by his own valour and his sword. His original principality was Chitor — Erskine's Memoirs of Bábár p 311

<sup>1</sup> His dominions at the period of his decease 'stretched from the river Ama to Bihár etc.—Erskine's History, 1. p 526

<sup>2</sup> Kámrán's coins are extant. The following is a description of a specimen in the East India Company's collection struck at Kábul in A.H. 947 —

Silver Weight 71 grs

Obverse—Area (diamond shaped) سعید کامران بادشاہ عاری (Arabic)

Margin الملك السلطان الاعظم الحفاظ حمد الله تعالى ملکہ

وسلطانہ صرف کامل سے ۹۴۷

Reverse—Circular area, the *Kalimah*

Margin, اباکر الصدیق عمر الفاروق عثمان الغور علی المرتضی (Arabic)

937 A.D. 1530 Humáyun defeats the combined army under Mahmúd *Lodi* at Doura, and gets possession of Jaunpúr

938 1532 Advances against Shir Khán at Chunar, but is obliged to return to meet the threatened hostility of Bahádur Sháh of Gujarat Campaigns in Málwah, Gujárát, etc.

942 1535 Capture of the Fort of Champánir

946 1539 (9th Safar) Shir Sháh's perfidy at Chonsa (Chupar Ghát), ruin of Humáyun's army, and his retreat to Agra

947 1540 Final defeat of Humayun by Shir Sháh, near Kanauj, and flight of the former

## BABAR.

No 323 (pl. v fig 172) Silver Weight, 71.5 grs. Very rare

Obverse—Centre, محمد ناصر نادشاد,

السلطان الاعظم Margin (worn) \* \* \*

Reverse—Centre, لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

Margin, \* \* \* على المرتضى

No 324 (pl. v fig 173) A silver coin of Babar (East India Cabinet), somewhat similar to the above, has the word عارى at the end of the inscription on the obverse area, in addition to the legend detailed under No 323, marking, in this addition, his very hazardous encounter with Rána Sanga in A.H. 933. Another specimen gives the full date of A.H. 936

On the obverse margin is to be seen—الاعظم حفان

Reverse—Area as in the last coin

Margin, على المرتضى \*

These silver coins correspond to the class of money designated by Abúl Fazl under the generic term of *Babarís*, which he states weighed *one muská* each, and to have

been rated in exchange at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per rupee.<sup>1</sup> The constantly quoted *Sháh Rukhís* of contemporary authors constituted an identical currency, as this piece is also defined as the equivalent of 16 *dáms*,<sup>2</sup> which gives the like return of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per rupee; in effect, Bábár's northern money appears to have been a mere continuation of the earlier issues of Sháh Rukh, the Mughal Sultán of Persia (A.H. 807-850), whose coinage was so largely spread over all Asia.<sup>3</sup>

## HUMAYUN.

No. 325. Gold. Irregular weights, 8, 10, and 13 grs. Rare.

الله لا إله سُلَيْمَانُ رَسُولُ اللهِ—Obverse

سُلَيْمَانُ بْنُ دَمَيْنَ بَادْشَاهَ غَازِيِّ خَلَدَ اللهُ تَعَالَى مَلْكَهُ—Reverse

No. 326 (pl. v. fig. 175). Silver. Weight, 71 grs. A.H. 944.

Very rare.

سُلَيْمَانُ غَازِيِّ—Obverse—Centre,

الْمَلِكُ الْأَمِيرُ السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ الْخَاتَمُ خَلَدَ اللهُ تَعَالَى مَلْكَهُ وَسُلْطَانَهُ ضُرُبَ أَكْرَهُ سَنَةُ ٩٤٤—Margin,

تعالى مَلْكَهُ وَسُلْطَانَهُ ضُرُبَ أَكْرَهُ سَنَةُ ٩٤٤

The King, the Amír, the most mighty Sultán, the Khákán.

May Almighty God prolong his dominion and sovereignty!

Struck at Agra, (in the) year 944.

سُلَيْمَانُ غَازِيِّ—Centre,

الله لا إله سُلَيْمَانُ اللهُ يَرْزُقُ مَنْ يَشَاءُ بِغَيْرِ حِسَابٍ

There is no god but God; Muhammad is the apostle of God.

God is bountiful unto whom He pleaseth, without measure.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Miskal* = 40 *ratis*. See pp. 222, 223, *antē*, *Ain-i Akbari*, Gladwin, in p. 193.

<sup>2</sup> *Ain-i Akbari*, in. 209. "8 *laks* of *Sháhrukhís* = 3,20,000 rupees, or 1 *kror* and 28 *laks* of *dáms*."—Erskine's *Bábár*, etc., in. p. 544.

<sup>3</sup> Fréhn, *Recensio Numorum Muhammadanorum*, pp. 430, 496.

<sup>4</sup> *Kurán*, *Súrah* in 208.

صدق اباکر عدل عمر بحای عثمان علم علی،  
وصی اللہ علیہ

By the truth of Ababakr, by the justice of 'Umar, by the modesty of 'Usman, by the wisdom of 'Alí, may God reward him

No 327 (pl v fig 176) Silver Weight, 71 grains Struck at Agra, 945 A.H. A variety, with a nearly square area, has the date 952 A.H., the name of the place of mintage is obliterated

No 328 (pl v fig 176a) A coin of the same type, which is unfortunately wanting in both date and place of mintage, has the countermark or Hall stamp of Kámrán, attesting the current value of the piece. Of this impress the following words are still legible عدل کامران نادشاد —

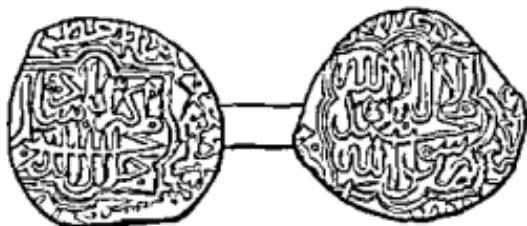
Another silver coin of Humáyun (weight, 71 grains) has the مسید همانوں عاری only, in an oblong area. The reverse area being circular, as in the specimen engraved, the legend itself is confined to the usual short symbol. The margins are much worn, but apparently vary slightly in their legends from those of the above coins. There are traces of the figures 937

I have inserted the subjoined coins of Akbar in this place, irrespective of their order of date with a view to keep together the various specimens of this foreign type of money, the issue of which seems to have been persevered in amid the migratory Mughal camps and temporarily occupied cities of India

#### AKBAR

No 329 Gold Weight 18 grs A.H. 969 Col Guthrie  
Obverse—*حَلَالُ الدِّينِ مُحَمَّدُ أَكْبَرُ نَادِشَادُ عَارِيٌ ۙ ۙ ۙ*  
Reverse—*The Kalimah*

No. 330. Silver. Weight, 60 grs. A.H. 963. Col. Guthrie.



٩٦٣

اکبر بادشاہ

محمد

جلال الدین

Margin— \* سلطان الاعظم \*

\* تعالیٰ \*

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ

مُحَمَّدٌ

رَسُولُ اللَّهِ

Margin illegible.

#### ANONYMOUS COINS.

I have considered it preferable to class the anonymous coins hereunto appended, under a separate head, as although their dates would in general indicate the Sovereign during whose reign they were struck, still the absence of any name upon the individual piece might leave a possible *doubt as to the true presiding authority of the moment*, especially in money coming to us from such disturbed times as witnessed the issue of many of these *fulūs*; and as exactitude is a high conceit among Numismatists, I would not knowingly so offend against the prejudices of caste as to claim reliance upon aught that was susceptible of critical question. These coins of unavowed kingship are therefore

grouped in a series apart, an arrangement which has the advantage of bringing them all under one compact view, and developing in continuity, the special merit they possess, strangely enough in greater perfection than more imposing medals, viz., of assisting in the elucidation of the contemporaneous geographical status, and of indicating in the fact the relative importance, of the leading cities of the epoch.

These coins seem to date their origin from Bâbar's conquest, and we recognize in the earlier specimens both the hand and the art of workmen other than indigenous. The practice of striking coin in subordinate cities also appears to have been an innovation introduced by the Mughals, who drew a wise distinction between the importance of the lower currency of copper and money fabricated from the more costly gold or silver. The absence of the Sultân's name likewise indicates a departure from Indian practice, under which we have uniformly seen the designation of the supreme authority impressed upon the copper money equally with the coins of higher value.

Bâbar's introduction of so much of the leading ideals of his Bokhârâ<sup>1</sup> money into Hindûstan was destined to be attended with more permanence in the coins of the poor, whose standard he adopted, than in that of his more elaborately executed *dirhams* and *ashrafis*, in which he outraged local associations.

The average weight of the pieces of this class is very uniform at something over 140 grains, a total we have frequently met with in the earlier coins of the Pathân issues, 80 of which went to the old *tankah*, 4 to the modified *Sikandari*, and 32 to the foreign *Bâbari* and *Shah Rukhi*.

<sup>1</sup> *Frahn's Recensio*, p 432, etc., M. Soret, *Lettre sur la Numismatique*, June, 1843, p 28.

Their relative value in exchange against silver may have varied from time to time, but the fact of Akbar's accepting copper as his universal standard shows that he felt that all important fluctuations, as might have been predicted, virtually took place in the more readily affected ratios of the precious metals

No 331 Copper Weight, 142 grs Agrah, A H 936 *Unique*  
*Obverse*—Circular area, within a margin of fine lines and dots run into a scroll pattern

صرف اگرہ

*Reverse*—Oblong area (*Mihrabi*), with ornamental flowered scroll margin

بی تاریخ سنه ۹۳۶

No 332 Copper Weight, 135 grs Mint, Fort of Agrah,  
 A H 936

دارالصرف قلع اگرہ

*Reverse* as above

No 333 Copper Weight, 142 grs Agrah, Seat of the Khulafat,  
 A H. 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943

صرف دارالخلافہ اگرہ

*Reverse*—Simple marginal lines encircle the field, the inner portions above and below the legend are filled in with scroll-work

بی تاریخ سنه ۹۳۷

No 334 Copper Weight 141 grs Agrah, Seat of Justice,  
 A H 943

صرف دارالعدل اگرہ

*Reverse* as above

No 335 Copper Weight, 141 grs Láhor, Seat of the Khiláfat, A.H. 938, 939, 940

صرف دارالخلافة لاہور—

Reverse—می تاریخ سے ۹۳۸

No 336 Copper Weight, 141 grs Dehli, Seat of Government, A.H. 940, 941, 942, 943

صرف دارالملک دہلی—

Reverse as usual

No 336a Copper Weight 139 grs Capital, Dehli, Seat of Government, A.H. 943 Unique My cabinet

صرف دارالملک حصرہ دہلی—

Reverse as usual

No 337 Copper Weight, 143 grs Mandu, A.H. 941 942 Humayun in possession ? (See Table, p 380) Rare

صرف مسدو—

Reverse as usual.

No 338 Copper Weight, 140 grs Mint, Fort of Alwar, A.H. 936

دارالصرف بلخ الور—

No 339 Copper Weight, 140 grs District, Jaunpur, A.H. 940, 941

Obverse—حبوبر دہلی

Reverse as usual

## BABAR'S INDIAN REVENUE.

One of the most interesting documents relating to the fiscal history of India has been discovered and preserved by Mr. Erskine in the unique detail given by Bâbar himself of the revenues of his newly-acquired kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Erskine felt some difficulty in satisfying himself as to what this nominal total of fifty-two *krores*, summarized by Bâbar, might chance to represent in English money, and he was constrained to leave it an open question between no less than five several amounts, ranging from £1,300,000 to £52,000,000.<sup>2</sup> There can be little hesitation—now that we have discovered the true value of the Sikandari *tankah* and its direct association with the double *dam*s of Akbar—in adopting that standard and almost exclusively current piece as the real measure of value in this and in all similar instances, where the *tankah* is not qualified by some descriptive term. In the present table, the introduction of the specification of *silver tankahs* and *black tankahs*, in the Tîrhût return, implies, *prima facie*, that the general total

<sup>1</sup> This return was wanting in all the MSS. previously accessible

<sup>2</sup> "The amount of this revenue of 52 *krores*, if considered as represented in single *dam*s, according to the mode of computation in Akbar's reign, would be £1,300,000, if in double *dam*s, according to the calculation of Ferishtah, £2,600,000, if we adopted the mode of reckoning suggested by the facts stated by Mu'ta Ha'dar, it would be £4,212,000, while, if we take the *tankah* at 7½<sup>d</sup>, which is somewhat below the lowest rate it reached in the reign of Sultân Mubammad bin Tughlak [see correction, p 229 *ante*], the amount would be £16 250,000, but if at its full and proper value of a *rupee*, £52,000,000. Everything considered, I should consider £4,212,000 as the amount of Bâbar's nominal revenue, a very large sum when the working of the American mines had not yet produced its full effect. It is not easy to find any unobjectionable point of comparison. The statements of Akbar's revenue given in the translation of the *Ain-i Akbari* have not been generalized, and are far from being always distinct"—Erskine, 1 p 542

was based upon some coin which would not directly come under either category; the Sikandari *tankah*, however designedly lowered in value, had an equal claim to the generic name with its predecessors of higher metallic mark. As has been already explained (pp. 336, 369, 384), these Sikandaris represented, irregularly perhaps in individual pieces, but satisfactorily in large amounts, a value of  $\frac{1}{20}$  of the old *silfer tankah*. Under this test, Bábár's given total corresponds to a sum of 2,60,00,000 *silfer tankahs*, or £2,600,000.<sup>1</sup> Akbar's revenues are not quite so uncertain or indeterminate as Mr. Erskine was inclined to suppose. We have definitions of their amount from two different sources. Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad's return, which refers to A.H. 1002 (A.D. 1593), is quite explicit, and places them at 640,00,00,000, "six hundred and forty *krors*<sup>2</sup> of *tankah muradi*." Taking these as Sikandari *tankahs*, we obtain a sum of 32,00,00,000 (640,00,00,000  $\div$  20) *silfer tankahs* (roughly modern *rupees*), or the equivalent of £32,000,000.

Abúl Fazl's revenue estimate for the fortieth year of the reign, or A.H. 1003 (A.D. 1594), is far more obscure. It is epitomized in the introduction to his twelve *Súbahs*, or divisions of India, as 3,62,97,55,246 *dams*;<sup>3</sup> but this aggregate

<sup>1</sup> Bábár confesses that he added, at one time, 30 per cent to the ordinary taxes to meet the enhanced expenditure upon his army of occupation. This does not appear to have been included in the above summary—Bábár's Memoirs, p. 387, Erskine, 1 p. 488.

<sup>2</sup> Whatever complications may exist about *dams* in the *Ain-i Akbari*, the text of Nizám ud dín Ahmad (a paymaster), is clear and definite as to ششصد و چهل کروڑ تکہ مرادی "640 *kror*" See also Elliot's Index, p. 204

<sup>3</sup> The printed Persian text, even with all the advantages of Dr. Blochmann's choice series of MSS., only confirms Gladwin's original rendering (u. p 1). The passage runs— سه ارب و شصت و دو کروڑ و بیو و هفت لکھ و پنجاد و پیسہ دهار و دویسیت و چهل و شش دام There is a possibility that the سه = 3

does not correspond with the grand total to be obtained from the more comprehensive provincial tables in his own work, nor do those tables themselves always coincide with the preliminary summary prefixed to the returns of each fiscal division; indeed, there is internal evidence that the detailed statistics were corrected-up, independently, from later documents, when Akbar's dominions had extended their boundaries; but as regards the figures above quoted, there must clearly be an error either of calculation or of transcription: the given sum reckoned in single *dams* gives the absurdly small amount of 9,07,43,881 rupees, or £9,074,388. Understood as double *dams*, or Sikandaris of identical value, the total would still only reach 18,14,87,762 rupees, or £18,148,776, or little more than half the sum the more authoritative assertion of Nizám-ud-dín places it at. It is possible that a more close examination of the fiscal returns of Akbar's reign may throw light upon this unaccountable divergency; but for the present I am content to adhere implicitly to Nizám-ud-dín's figures, and to suspect that Abúl Fazl's sum indicated origi-

may be intended for  $\text{سی} = 30$ , a very frequent error (ordinarily guarded against by the insertion of the figure  $\text{م}$  over the  $\text{سی}$ , thus  $\text{سیم}$ ), which would produce at 40 *dams* the large but not impossible sum of 76,57,43,881 rupees, or £76,574,388. But the rectification that most commends itself to me, as an occasional reconstructor of Persian texts, does even more violence to the extant version, inasmuch as I should go so far as to suggest a substitution of the more divergent word  $\text{شش}$  or *six*, for the opening *written* word,  $\text{دو}$  or *two*, which now appears in the MSS. and their printed reproductions. This would establish a very near approach to the result of Nizám ud din Ahmad's return, and one fully within the range of identities and probabilities. Under this scheme, the long array of figures would present themselves as 6,62,97,55,246, which, divided by 20 (the ruling number in the parallel case), would produce a sum of 33,14,87,772 *silver tankahs*, or a very close approximation to the 32,00,00,000 obtained from our leading authority, Nizám-ud-dín, which is fixed at the latter amount, though specified in different terms, and ruled by an independent scheme of exchange.

nally a very moderate increment upon the ordinary revenue of the preceding year. Though, of course, if the leading total was altered under later authorities to meet the ever varying annual income, the irreconcilable figures themselves become comparatively unimportant.

Mr. Erskine quotes another very curious table of the revenues of India under Aurangzéb (A.H. 1068-1118; A.D. 1651-1707),<sup>1</sup> which produces a grand total of 38,71,94,000 rupees, or £38,719,400, at which period the provinces entered in Bábár's schedule had risen to an improved revenue return of 7,81,46,550 rupees, or £7,814,655.

#### THE REVENUES OF BÁBAR'S INDIAN DOMINIONS

| 1. The Súrkár west of the Satlege, Bhíra, Láhor,                   | TAXES      |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Siálkót, Daibálpár, etc. ... ... ... ...                           | 36,815,989 |
| 2 Sírhind and its dependencies ... ... .. ...                      | 12,931,985 |
| 3. Hissár Fírúzah ... ... ... ...                                  | 18,075,104 |
| 4 <i>Dár ul Mulk</i> , Dehli, in the Doáb ... ... ...              | 36,950,254 |
| 5. Méwát (not included in Sikandar's Revenue roll) ... ... ... ... | 16,981,000 |
| 6. Bíána ... ... ... ...                                           | 14,414,930 |
| 7. Agrah ... ... ... ...                                           | 2,976,919  |
| 8. Mián-i Viláyat ... ... ... ...                                  | 29,119,000 |
| 9. Gwálior ... ... ... ...                                         | 22,857,450 |
| 10. Kálpi, etc. ... ... ... ...                                    | 42,855,950 |
| 11. Kanauj ... ... ... ...                                         | 13,063,358 |
| 12. Sambal ... ... ... ...                                         | 13,844,000 |
| 13. Lakhnau, etc ... ... ... ...                                   | 13,982,433 |

<sup>1</sup> This is taken from Catron's *Histoire de l'Empire Mogol*, Paris, 4to, 1715, p 264. The information is supposed to be derived from the papers of Manucci, the Venetian traveller. Catron adds to his other remarks, that "other taxes and duties equal or exceed the land revenue". Bernier also gives an imperfect return of the revenues of twenty divisions, in Aurangzéb's reign, amounting to 22,58,78,000 rupees (u. p 354.)

## TANKAHS

|    |                                                                                                                                                    |                                   |
|----|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 14 | Khauríbád .. .. .. ..                                                                                                                              | 1,265,000                         |
| 15 | Onde and Bahráich .. .. ..                                                                                                                         | 11,721,369                        |
| 16 | Jaunpur .. .. .. ..                                                                                                                                | 40,088,333                        |
| 17 | Karrá and Mankpur .. .. ..                                                                                                                         | 16,327,280                        |
| 18 | Bihár .. .. .. ..                                                                                                                                  | 40,560,000                        |
| 19 | Sírwár .. .. .. ..                                                                                                                                 | 15,517,506½                       |
| 20 | Sáran .. .. .. ..                                                                                                                                  | 11,018,679                        |
| 21 | Chumpatam .. .. .. ..                                                                                                                              | 19,086,609                        |
| 22 | Gondlah .. .. .. ..                                                                                                                                | 4,330,300                         |
| 23 | Tírhut. Tribute (Khudmatána)<br>of the Tírhút Rája 250,000 <sup>1</sup><br>Silver Tankahs, and 2,750,000 <sup>2</sup><br>Black Tankahs... .. .. .. |                                   |
| 24 | Rantambhór .. .. .. ..                                                                                                                             | 2,000,009                         |
| 25 | Nagór .. .. .. ..                                                                                                                                  | 13,000,000                        |
| 26 | Rája Bikramájít from Ran-<br>tambhór .. .. .. ..                                                                                                   |                                   |
| 27 | Rája of Kálínjar .. .. ..                                                                                                                          |                                   |
| 28 | Rája Birsing deo .. .. ..                                                                                                                          |                                   |
| 29 | Rája Bikram-deo .. .. ..                                                                                                                           |                                   |
| 30 | Rája Bikram Chand .. .. ..                                                                                                                         |                                   |
|    |                                                                                                                                                    | Silver<br>Tankahs.                |
|    |                                                                                                                                                    | <u>443,783,457½</u> = 2,21,89,172 |
|    | Add Tírhút estimate, [250,000<br>Tankahs, and 2,750,000, at<br>10 per Tankah, or 275,000] ...                                                      | <u>525,000</u> <u>525,000</u>     |
|    |                                                                                                                                                    | <u>2,27,14,172</u>                |

[Or at  $\frac{1}{40}$  of a Tankah, at the exchange of 2s per Tankah,  
£2,271,417, exclusive of the tribute from the five Rájas, the  
totals of which are left blank ]

<sup>1</sup> *Tankah-nukrah*, "silver Tankahs," or full money

<sup>2</sup> *Tankah súkh*, "black Tankahs," at 2½d. See p. 230 *ante*

## THIRTY-SIXTH KING (A.H. 947-952; A.D. 1540-1545).

The history of Shír Sháh has yet to be written, and it is to be feared that those who undertake the task will find much difficulty, at this late period, in doing justice to his masterly administrative abilities, or in restoring to him that meed of honour for his systemization of the revenue and fiscal departments of Indian policy which Akbar's eulogists have appropriated to their own master.<sup>1</sup> His chequered career, his rise from a comparatively humble sphere, and his success so often due to his individual efforts, are soiled by the frequent association of the Afghán national vices of duplicity, treachery, and unscrupulous breaches of faith. The introductory annals of this reign embrace so many minor incidents, that, following earlier precedents, I have reduced the details into the more compact form of a tabular outline, instead of attempting to generalize the narrative of the consecutive events.

<sup>1</sup> "It is impossible to conclude the history of such a prince without regretting that so few materials remain for affording a view of the internal administration of his dominions. Many of his revenue regulations were retained or renewed by Akbar, and seem to have made a part of Todar-Mal's improved system of finance. But Shír Sháh was soon succeeded on the throne by a hostile family, whose partizans were not disposed to see any merit in the virtues of an enemy"—Erskine's *Bábar*, n. 446. See also Elphinstone, pp. 457, 541.

Sir Henry Elliot was likewise strongly impressed with the value of Shír Sháh's reforms, regarding which we were quite in accord, and I have reason to believe he will be found to have collected much information on the subject during his patient investigations into this interesting portion of the history of India. These details will probably appear in the fourth volume of the *Historians of India*, now in course of publication under Professor Dowson's editorship.

## OUTLINE OF SHÍR KHÁN'S CAREER.

A.D. 1528 Shír Khán *Jagírdar* of Sahsarám (in Sháhábád) is presented to Bábár, and accompanies him in the expedition against Chanderí Becomes prime minister to Jalál ud dín *Lohani*, king of Bihar, who eventually, in fear of his own *ra'íz*, takes refuge with Nusrat Shah of Bengal Shír Khán defeats Ibrahim Khan, the general of Nusrat Shah Jalal ud-dín escapes from the field

1529 Shír Khan submits to Sultán Mahmud *Lódi*, who is proclaimed king of Bihar, but who, shortly afterwards, has to retire before the army of Bábár, into Bengal Shír Khán is meanwhile left in possession of his own *Jagírs*

1537 Shír Khán obtains possession of the Fort of Chunár

1538 Humáyun makes terms with Shír Khan

1542 Shír Khan defeats Ulugh Mírza, plunders Benares reduces Patna, and in 943 pushes his forces into Bengal and besieges Gour Chunár surrenders to Humáyun, Gour capitulates to Shír Khán, Syud Mahmud Sháh seeks refuge with Humáyun

1545 Temporary check to Humayun's advance at Tera garh Shír Khán acquires the Fort of Rhotas (lat 24° 38, long 82° 25) by treachery Gour occupied by Humáyun Shír Khan, already in possession of the passes, takes Benares, proceeds against Jaunpur, and thus isolates Humayun in Bengal Hindal Mírza revolts and proclaims himself *Sultan* at Agra Shír Khan assumes the title of *Shah*, or King of Bihar

1539 Shír Sháh circumvents Humáyun at Chonsa (Chupar Ghát) on the Ganges, and after terms of peace had been settled, with true Afghan perfidy, he arranges a night attack upon Humáyun's camp, and totally destroys his army, the Sultan himself escaping with the greatest difficulty Shír Shah improves his advantage, renews the siege of Jaunpur, and occupies Kanauj

| A.D.<br>947 | 1540 | Total defeat of Humáyun at Kanauj Shír Sháh occupies Agrah and Dehli, and subsequently the Panjáb. Humáyun retreats to Bhakkar. Shír Sháh's expedition against the Ghakars in the Panjáb he erects the <i>new</i> Fort of Rhotas (lat $33^{\circ}$ , long $73^{\circ} 20'$ ) |
|-------------|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 949         | 1542 | Reduces Málwah, Rantambhór surrenders, Multán annexed                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| 950         | 1543 | Occupation of Ráisen, and treacherous destruction of the garrison after surrender                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 951         | 1544 | Invasion of Márwár, engagement with Maldeo, submission of Chitor.                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 952         | 1545 | Siege of Kahnújar, and death of Shír Shah in the trenches (12th Rabí ul awwal) <sup>1</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                  |

No 340 Gold. Weight, 167 grs Unique

الله الا الله محمد رسول الله  
السلطان العادل—Reverse—سما سار سھو ۹۴۷ ملکہ حلد اللہ سلطان شریاء

No 341 Gold Square piece. Weight 168 5 grs Kalpi Square areas, with dotted margins Two specimens Col Guthrie



part لا إله إلا الله

Sir Henry Elliot was like  
reforms regarding which we  
he will be found to have colle  
patient investigations into this  
details will probably appear in  
in course of publication under

شہر شاہ

سلطان

حَلَّ اللَّهُ مَلْكُه

## श्री मेर सहि

In course of publication under Professoraram an edifice of note, is described as being

The reading of the place of mintage is uncertain, the letters گل alone being fairly legible, so that the city the die was designed to indicate may possibly have been *Kaldnur*

No 342 Gold Weight, 166 4 grs Round coin

Square area

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ

مُحَمَّدُ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ

Square area

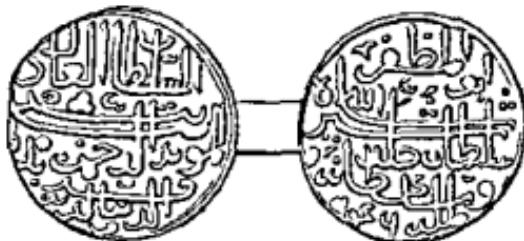
شَرِّ شَاه

سُلْطَان

حَلَّ اللَّهُ مَلَكُه

Margins illegible

No 343 Silver Weight, 163 grs Unique<sup>1</sup> Col Guthrie



السلطان العادل المؤيد شاهد الرحمن مريد الدين والدين

أبو المظفر شر شاه سلطان حمل الله ملکه و سلطانه ۹۴۶

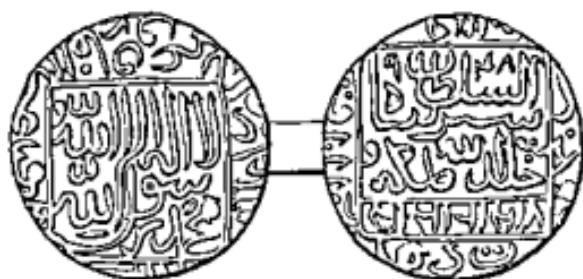
Shir Sháh's defeat of Humáyun, at Chonsa, dates 9th Safar, 946 A.H. (June, 1539 A.D.)<sup>2</sup>

built in the middle of a great reservoir of water. The monument rises from the centre of the tank, which is about a mile in circumference, and bounded on each side by masonry the descent to the water being by a flight of steps, now in ruins. The dome and the rest of the building is of a fine grey stone — Hamilton's Hindústán, 1 p. 281

<sup>1</sup> See J.R.A.S. N.S. vol. 1 p. 222

<sup>2</sup> Erskine, II. p. 173, Stewart's Bengal, p. 142

No 344 Silver Weight, 171 grs Unique Struck at the capital, Dehli, A H 948



٩٤٨

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ

السلطان

مُحَمَّدُ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ

شِيرْ شَاد

حَلْدُ اللَّهِ مَلِكُه

أَبَاكَرُ الصَّدِيقٌ—Margin

سُوْ سُوْرَهِ سَاهِ

عُمَرُ الْعَارُوقُ عُثْمَانُ الْعَوَانِ

أَبُو الْمُطَعْرِ فَرِيدُ الدِّسَا—Margin

عَلَى الْمُرْتَصِى

وَالْدِينِ صَرْبِ حَصْرَتِ دَهْلِي

No 345 Silver Weight, 168.5 grs (oxydized) Agra, A H 948

Square areas

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ

شِيرْ شَاد سَلْطَان

مُحَمَّدُ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ

حَلْدُ اللَّهِ مَلِكُه

Margin—The usual legend, comprising the names of the four associates, with their honorific titles

فَرِيدُ الدِّسَا وَالْدِين—Margin

أَبُو الْمُطَعْرِ صَرْبِ أَكْرَه ٩٤٨

سُوْ سُوْرَهِ سَاهِي

No 346 Silver Weight, 176 grs. Shírgarh, (9)49 A.D.<sup>1</sup>  
(Prinsep collection.<sup>2</sup>)

الله لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله  
الله لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله  
علي المرتضى عثمان ذي الورين  
علي المرتضى عثمان ذي الورين

شیر شاد سلطان خلد الله ملکہ  
 Revere—Square area,  
 Margin—ओ سیر ساہی Srl Ser Sdhl  
 مرید الدنیا و الدین ابو المطقر ضرب شیرکدہ ۹۱۹

No 347. Silver Weight, 176 grs. Coins similar in legends to  
No 346. Struck at Gwâlior, A.D. 951, 952.

The Hindi legend varies slightly in the orthography, and usually runs श्री सर साहू.

<sup>1</sup> Shirgarh, *et cetera* Rhotas, the fortress situated on the table land, five miles by four, on the left of the Són (lat.  $24^{\circ} 38'$ , long  $84^{\circ}$ ), taken by stratagem from the Hindú Rája by Shir Sháh (p 393 *ante*), and converted into a refuge and place of safety for his family and treasures during his wars with Humáyún — Akbari, II 32. See also Briggs's *Ferishtah*, II 114, Tieffenthaler, I. 309, Buchanan, I. 434, Hamilton's *Hindústán*, I. 281; Erskine's *Bíbar* and *Humáyún*, II 147, Thornton's *Gazetteer*, *sub voce*

\* The silver coin of a similar type to the above, described by Marsden under No. DCCXXIX, as dated 945, is not so defined in the only specimen of the kind in his cabinet in the British Museum. Marsden was unable to detect the Hindu inscription on the margin of the reverse of this medal, which, with the aid of a better specimen, such as the specimen now described, is clearly recognizable.

Marsden's No. DCCXXXVII is seen from the original coin to have been struck at  
الگ Greator, and not at "Korah."

<sup>3</sup> دی المورین "Possessor of two lights," in reference to his marriage with two daughters of the Prophet.

No 348 (pl v fig 179) Silver Weight, 176 grs (Also Marsden, *ccccxxxiii*) No mint specified A.H. 948, 949, 950

Circular areas

الله لا إله

شر شاه سلطان

محمد رسول الله

حد الله ملکه

سلطان

Margin—السلطان العادل

Margin—فرد الدسا و الدس

Margin—امانکر عمر عثمان على

٩٥٠ آپی سیر ساہی

Some of these coins, in addition to the exclusively Muslim devices, such as the Seal of Solomon, etc., have clearly defined outlines of Hindu *Sicastilas* at the divisional gaps of the marginal legends, which may possibly connect them with the Malwah expedition of Shir Shah

No 348a The curious coin here engraved is inserted less on account of its historic importance than for the exemplification of the artistic model upon which some of the best specimens of the flowing style of Akbar's early mintages were based



No 349 Variety of No 348 Weight 175 4 grains Struck at Sharifabad, A.H. 949

The name of شریفاباد takes the place of the ordinary سلطان on the obverse area. A second coin from the same mint, in the British Museum, is dated in 951 A.H.

The Afn 1 Akbari notices Sharifabád as a Sirkár of Bengal, containing 26 Maháls, with an assessment of 2,24,88,750 *dáms*—5,62,213 rupees. The leading township in the list of Maháls is Burdwan (lat  $23^{\circ} 12'$ , long  $87^{\circ} 56'$ , 75 miles N W of Calcutta)—Gladwin, II p 13, and III p 14

No 349a The greater number of this class of coins are absolutely deficient in any record of the place of mintage. This may be due to a variety of causes—simple want of space in the general die arrangement of the legends, advised omissions of the names of localities of the case of money struck in movable camps, or the supposition of a more subtle motive, attributable to an intentional contrast between the *quasi* home of Shir Khán at Sharifabad and his triumphant occupancy of جاپیا جدھانپاندھ, "the asylum of the world," or DELHI in its full significance,<sup>1</sup> on the immediate expulsion of his Mughal adversaries

No 350 Silver Weight, 169 grs. Unique (My cabinet)

Chunar, A H 949

Circular areas

الله الا الله

شیر شاد السلطان

محمد رسول الله

حد الله ملکه

سلطان

ابو بكر الصديق—Margin

مرید الدسا و الدین—Margin

عمر الخطاب عثمان الفاروق

ابو المطهر صرب حار ۹۴۹

علي المرتضى السلطان العادل

سُنی سار ساہی

<sup>1</sup> There need be no reserve in admitting that the حاپیا which occurs at the conclusion of the Sultán's titles (after the ابو المطهر in exceptional cases, has hitherto been read as part and parcel of the honorific designations of the monarch himself instead of what parallel examples now sufficiently prove it to be, the abrupt and irregular insertion of the name of the mint.

Shír Khán seems to have acquired the important Fort of Chunár as early as 937 A.H. It originally passed into his hands on his marriage with Lad Malek, the widow of Taj Khan Sárangkhán, who held the stronghold for Sultán Ibráhím Lodi, and subsequently for the Emperor Bábár.<sup>1</sup> On Sultán Mahmud Lodi's defeat by Humayun, in 937 A.H., Shír Khán, after basely deserting the former, temporized with the latter, and succeeded in retaining possession until 938 A.H., when Humayun conceded to him the title to Chunár and his other fiefs.

No 351 Silver Weight, 175 2 grs (Marsden, ccxxx)

Mints generally unrecorded, but two specimens in the British Museum have the name of Sharifabad inserted in the field after ملکه (946, 947) A.H. 946, 947, 948 (four specimens) 951, and 952

Square areas

|                                |                                                                         |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| الله لا إله                    | شوشاد السلطان                                                           |
| محمد رسول الله                 | حد الله ملکه ٩٤٩                                                        |
| السلطان العادل                 | شوشاد سلطان                                                             |
| Margin—<br>أبوكر عمر عثمان على | Margin—<br>مرد الدسا والدین أبو المطفر                                  |
|                                | N.B. In some cases where space<br>admits و سلطنه is added after<br>ملکه |

<sup>1</sup> History of India Bábár and Humayún Erskine u pp 131 134 Stewart's Bengal p 120, Bábár's Memoirs by Leyden and W. Erskine (London, 1826) pp 405 407 408

<sup>2</sup> Marsden's own published coin, No ccxxx has the name of the mint fully and freely legible on its surface though he himself did not detect it

No. 352. Silver. Weight, 170 grs. Rantambhor.<sup>1</sup> A.H. 949.  
Square areas.

The *Kalimah*.

Margin—The names and titles  
of the four companions.

٩٤٩

شیر شاہ السلطان خلد الله ملکه

ओ सर साह

السلطان العادل—Margin

أبو المظفر فريد الدنيا والدين

\* رنچنپور

No. 353. Silver. Weight, 173 grs. A broad thin piece. A.H. 750.  
Bhánpúra (lat. 24° 30', long. 75° 45').



Legends generally as in No. 352, but the Persian letters are very crudely though clearly formed, and the Hindi name is even less definitely expressed. The conclusion of the obverse marginal record seems to run ضرب بانپور سنه "Struck at Bhánpúr, San. 950," the figures following-on at the top of the square area. The doubtful sentence might possibly be read as ضرب شادجہ بانپور, but *Bhánpúr* seems to be the preferable rendering.

<sup>1</sup> The strong fortress of Rantambhor, in the province of Ajmir (lat. 26° 23', long. 76° 17'), 75 miles S.E. of Jaipúr, surrendered to Shir Sháh in A.H. 949 = A.D. 1542 (Erskine, n. 432), and, with its dependencies, was assigned as a Jégir to 'Adul Khán, the eldest son of the Sultán (n. 439). Sirkár "Rhuntenpoor" is stated, in the *Kin-i Albari*, to have contained 83 *mahdis*, measuring in all 60,24,196 *bigahs*, with a revenue of 8,98,64,576 *dams* (or 22,91,614 rupees) —

No 354 Silver Weight, 170 grs Kalpi, A.H. 949  
Square areas

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ

شَرْ شَادْ سُلْطَانْ

سَمْعَانْ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ

حَلْدُ اللَّهِ مَلَكُه

صَرْبُ الْأَلْبَى

٩٤٩

Margin—Names and honorific  
titles of the four companions

Margin—શ્રી સર સા  
etc

مُرِيدُ الدِّسَا

No 354a Silver *Half Rupee* Weight, 88 grs A.H. 948

This half piece, with its *demi* proportion, brings the normal and official weight of the full rupee up to 176, out of the *theoretical* 178 grains

No 355 Copper Weight, 310 grs A.H. 948, 949, 950, 951

فِي عَهْدِ الْأَمْرِ الْحَامِيِّ الدِّينِ الدِّيَانِ ٩٤٩—

أَبُو الْمُطَهَّرِ شَرْ شَادْ سُلْطَانْ حَلْدُ اللَّهِ مَلَكُه—

No 356 (pl. v fig. 185) Copper Weight, 315 grs  
Agra, A.H. 950 (or 951?)

فِي عَهْدِ الْأَمْرِ الْحَامِيِّ ٩٥٠—

السُّلْطَانُ الْعَادِلُ مُرِيدُ الدِّينِ وَ الدِّسَا

شَرْ شَادْ سُلْطَانْ صَرْبُ الْأَلْبَى—

أَبُو الْمُطَهَّرِ حَلْدُ اللَّهِ

No 357 Copper Highest (exceptional) weight 329 grs<sup>1</sup>  
Hissár, A.H. 950

شر شاه سلطان صرب حصار  
Obrerse—Square area, حصار سلطان صرب

Margin, حلال الله ملکه و سلطانه

Reverse—Square area, يعبد الامير العالمى

Margin, \* \* \* اللہ اکبر \*

No 358 Similar coins, varying in the minor details of the legends

Gwâhor, A.H. 950, 951, 952 (Highest weight, 312.5 grs.)

Narnol,<sup>2</sup> A.H. 948, 950, 951 (Highest weight, 322 grs.)

Shírgarh, A.H. 950, 951 (Highest weight, 314 grs.)

Biana, A.H. 951 (Highest weight, 315 grs.)

Kalpi, A.H. 949 (Highest weight, 311 grs.)

#### NOTE ON SHIR SHAH'S COINS

Shir Shâh's reign constitutes an important test point in the annals of Indian coinages, not only in its specific mint reforms, but as correcting the progressive deteriorations of previous kings, and as introducing many of those improvements which the succeeding Mughals claimed as their own. Though it is to be conceded that their occupation of Hindûstân was followed by marked elaboration in the artistic developments of the local mints—due either to the more cultivated taste of the northern sovereigns, or to the superior excellence of their foreign workmen, still, associated with these mechanical ameliorations, no effort seems to have been made

<sup>1</sup> Average weight of four specimens, 316 grains

<sup>2</sup> Narnol was celebrated for its copper maces and mints. See *infra*, p. 416

by these Chaghatai kings to assimilate their system of coinage to the wants of their new subjects. The intention, in this regard, appears rather to have been to force upon the conquered country the style of coin and scheme of exchange in use in the distant kingdoms whence the invaders came. This exotic system, owing, however, to causes other than any default of its own, was doomed to be but short-lived, inasmuch as Shir Shah soon sat in the place of Humayun; and, with the advantages of his individual local experience and clear administrative capacity, quickly reconstructed the currency upon the most comprehensive basis; and when this operation is followed out into its nicer shades, we are satisfied that as the abundance of his coins now extant attests the magnitude and settled nature of his power, so do the numerous geographical records they display assure us of the unusual completeness of his subjects' recognition of his sway.

Foremost among Shir Shah's monetary improvements stands the supercession of the use of the time-honoured, though most indeterminate, admixture of silver and copper, and the employment in lieu thereof of avowedly simple metals — a cursory glance at any cabinet of the coins of the later Pathan monarchs will satisfy the inquirer of the interminable abuses a coinage composed of mixed metals of unequal value was subject to under the administration of careless workmen, unscrupulous rulers, and seldom severely honest mint officials; were there no other object in view, this motive alone would suffice to prove the policy of the changes introduced.

The authoritative remodelling of the coinage effected at this period appears from internal evidence to have been accompanied by a revision and readjustment of the relative values of the lower metals of silver and copper.

There are no data to show at what exact rate silver exchanged against gold in the time of Shir Shah, but we have been able approximately to determine the ratio in 725 A.H. as 7 or 8 to 1 (p. 235 *ante*), and Akbar's official enumeration of the weights and relative values of his gold and silver coins demonstrates, beyond a doubt, that silver in his day stood to gold as 9 4 to 1.

Abul Fazl's casual allusion to certain additional details of Shir Shah's coin system, in illustration of that adopted by his own master, throws much light on our present inquiry, and with the aid of the test the coins themselves supply, permits of our forming a fairly approximate idea of the ruling scale of the more common monetary exchanges.

I have previously assumed, from existing specimens of the silver money of Shir Shah, that the original mint standard of these pieces was calculated at an average weight of 178 grains, if not more. Abul Fazl's statement on the point, scrutinized more critically than heretofore, affords a singularly close confirmation of this inference. I find it recorded in no less than four excellent copies of the original Persian *Ain-i Akbari*, that the rupee of Akbar, which was avowedly based upon that of Shir Shah, weighed  $11\frac{1}{2}$  *mashas*, the same weight (expressed in distinct words) is assigned in these MSS. to Akbar's *Jalali*, which is confessedly identical in value with the former. I mention this prominently, as Gladwin in his translation (1 pp. 34, 37, etc.) has given  $11\frac{1}{2}$  *mashas* as the weight of these two coins, and Prinsep (Useful Tables, p. 19), in accepting Gladwin's figures, was led to place the weight of the old rupee at nearly four grains below its true standard.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ain-i Akbari*, Calcutta edition, 4to., 1783. I take this opportunity of noticing some further errors of Gladwin's original MSS. in connexion with this

There is some doubt as to the precise weight we have to allow to the *másha*, which varied considerably in different parts of India. Prinsep has determined the Dehlí *másha* to be 15 5 grains (Useful Tables, pp 19, 20), and admitting this estimate, the result shows that Shir Sháh's rupee ought to have weighed 178 25 grains of what was esteemed pure silver.

The assignment of 15 5 grains to the Shir Sháh *másha* is equally well borne out in the test afforded by Akbar's own coins. In order to avoid the very probable error of mistaking the identical class, among three but little varying denominations of the gold coinage, to which any given specimen within our reach should belong, I confine my reference to the silver money of Akbar, which, though differing in its various mintages, in types and legends, was preserved intact, uniform in weight and value. Marsden has contributed an example (No. DCCXXIV) of a square Jaláli of this Padsháh weighing 176 5 grains. Had the official *tolah* at this time been fixed at 180 grains, this coin would virtually contain four grains more than the law required, as it is, even allowing for wear, it shows a return of 15 3 grains to each of the 11½ *mashas* of 15 5 grains, which should, under the higher scale of weights, originally have constituted its specific total on issue from the mint.

The adoption of this 15 5 grain *másha*, as a standard, necessitates a concurrent recognition of a proportionately increased weight in the *tolah* as then in use, we can scarcely suppose the twelve *mashas* composing the *tolah* to have aggregated 186 grains, while the *tolah* itself remained at the 180 grains modern usage has assigned to it. We have fortunately at

subject—1. p. 31, under Jaláli, "for 12 *mdshas* 13½ *rupees*, read "12 *mdshas* 1½ *rupees*" and for "is in value 12 *rupees*," read "10 *rupees*." At p. 37, line 10, for "12½ *mdshas*, read "11½ *mdshas*."

hand a second means of proving the question in the ultimate determination of the intrinsic contents of the pieces constituting the lower currency of the period, and the result will be found to show sufficient confirmation of the theory which has already placed the *másha* of Shír Sháh at 15.5 and the *tolah* at 186 grains troy. Forty *dáms* of copper, we are told, were in Akbar's time equivalent in account, and ordinarily in actual exchange,<sup>1</sup> to one rupce; and the *dám* of copper is itself defined at five *tanks*, or one *tolah* eight *máshas* and soven *ratis* in weight. The measure of *value* thus specified is likewise distinctly stated to have been a continuation of a previously existing species of money, which, at the moment when Abúl Fazl wrote, went by the name of *dám*. There can be but little hesitation in admitting, almost *prima facie* on the evidence available, that the copper pieces classed under Nos. 355, 358, were the identical coins of Shír Sháh, to which the succeeding *dáms* of Akbar were assimilated; or, in other words, that they were in weight and value (whatever their name) the *dáms* of the Afghán Sultán. It is a nicer point to determine the precise contents in grains attending the professed mint issue of these coins; but first taking the figures now proposed for *máshas* and *tolahs*, we obtain from one *tolah* eight *máshas* and seven *ratis*, at 186 grains per *tolah*, a sum of 323.5625 grains; and then testing this return of the actual present weight of extant coins, we obtain a very reasonably close approximation to our figured result. It is true that the general average of the various existing provincial coins of this class, minted during the reigns of Shír Sháh and his Afghán successors, would necessarily run somewhat below the rate of 323.5 grains; but we have to allow a considerable per-centge for loss by wear

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 360.

in such heavy coins, composed, as they were, of copper, which metal would always continue more freely current, and consequently suffer far more from the abrasion incident to frequent transfers, than the more carefully guarded and less readily exchanged silver or gold. However we may, without claiming too much margin on these grounds, fairly consider ourselves within the mark in identifying the general series of coins under review as having originally an intentional standard of 323 5 grains, inasmuch as we can at this time produce several specimens of the coinage weighing 322 grains, and in one instance, of a Hissár coin, we can reckon no less than the large overplus of 329 grains. Added to this, we have the indirect evidence of Tershtah that in his day there was a *paisa* (or fixed weight? *ज्य*) which was rated at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *tolahs*, which, at 186 grains the *tolah*, gives the close though higher return of 324 5 grains.

At the same time, it would be impossible to reduce *per contra* the coins which furnish our means of trial to anything like so low a general average as would admit of 314 grains (or the produce of the simple 180 grains *tolah*) being accepted as the normal issue weight.

The later and more ample investigations which have suggested themselves during the progress of this enlarged work on "The Chronicles of the Pathán Kings of Dehlí," bear out, in a remarkable manner, the accuracy of the results previously obtained from Shír Sháh's extant coins. Now that we have ascertained the precise application of the term *tank*, as distinguished from *tankah* or any other misleading association, we are able to check the return obtained from the definition of the weight of the *dam* as one *tolah* eight *mashas* and seven *ratis* (which produces a total of 323 5625 grains), by the second estimate of five

tanks, a weight which Bábar himself defines as 32 *ratis*<sup>1</sup> [or 56 grains], and which crops up under the palpable and tangible form of the mediæval representatives of the old *purana* in the present series (Nos 102, 108, 118, *et seq.*) This latter calculation produced a return of 280 grains ( $56 \times 5$ ), which proved to be the exact amount required to constitute the old *paisa*, forty of which went to the 175 grain *silver tankah*, giving a grand total of 11,200 grains of copper to 175 of silver, or at the exchange rate of the two metals of 64 to 1

We need not subject the old copper *tank* to any tests or trials by the new copper standard, as the value of that metal in reference to silver was avowedly altered from the rate obtaining when the coined *tank* or *purana* first constituted the secondary authoritative and corrective measure. And here we are forced to encounter another supposed difficulty we have seen that allowance had to be made for the increased weight of the *masha* consequent upon the advance on the rate of the *tolah* and rupee, but the question of the *rati* did not form part of the then leading argument, but by parity of reasoning, this weight must equally have felt the change, and hence we find that as the old *rati* of the early Patháns stood at 175 grains, so the revised *rati* under Shir Sháh and Albar rose to 19375 grains (186—96), or by the *dám* test, 323 5625—167 [the number of *ratis* in a *dám*] to 19375,—a solution which will reconcile the difficulty heretofore experienced in the admission of the correctness of my independently devised estimate of the weight of the ancient *rati*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Page 222 *anté*

<sup>2</sup> Gen Cunningham (*Jour As Soc Bengal*, 1865 p 46) proposed to correct my estimate of 175 into 18229, making the eighty *ratis*, which is rather a

The exchange rate of copper and silver in Shír Sháh's time would appear from these returns to have ranged at something over 72 6 to 1 (178 25—1291·25 [*i.e.* 323 5625  $\times$  40] = 72 60).<sup>1</sup>

### THIRTY-SEVENTH KING (A.U. 952-960, A.D. 1515-1552).

'Adil Khán, the eldest son, had been nominated as the successor to the throne of Shír Sháh. Jalál Khán, the younger brother, however, taking advantage of his absence from the capital at the time of the death of their father, assumed the imperial dignity under the title of Islám Sháh; and not long afterwards, 'Adil Khán made a formal resignation of his birthright, and saluted Islám Sháh as *Sultán*, simultaneously accepting, for his own portion, the *Jagir* of Biána. Eventually, seeing cause to distrust the good faith of his brother, 'Adil fled to Mélwat, and went into open revolt. This futile effort was quickly crushed by the Sultán, and 'Adil took

standard weight, equal to 145 832 grains. This calculation is reproduced, and the inference reiterated by the General in his article, "On the Indian Prince Sophytes," in the Numismatic Chronicle (October, 1866, p. 230), and he further extends his comparisons to the ancient *punch-marked* thirty two rati *purváas*, two [exceptional] specimens of which he has found to weigh as much as 56 5 grains each, marking an excess of *half* a grain upon my extreme limit. I should not be disposed to allow this fact to disturb my previous determination of the standard of 56 grains, as the increment of the half grain in such rare instances might be due to many extraneous causes, indeed, I should rather argue from the General's own data, the result of which he specifies as "out of 186 specimens," ten only weighed "above 56 grains," that my maximum of 56 was preferable to his of 58. Mr N. S. Maskelyne estimated the *rat* of Bábár's time at 1 562—1 80, the basis of his calculations being Humayún's diamond—J.R.A.S. 1866, p. 152.

<sup>1</sup> Col. W. Anderson made his return 70 1—Prinsep, Useful Tables, p. 22. He seems, however, to have worked out his totals from the mere text of the *Ain-i Akbari*, without the all important check of coin weights.

refuge in Bihár, where all traces of his eventual fate are lost. This outbreak was followed by a rebellion in the Punjáb, under 'Ázim Humáyún, which was for the time subdued by the defeat of the insurgents. The rest of the reign of Islám was disturbed by repeated insurrections, and during this period he had to reckon no less than three remarkable escapes from assassination. He died in 960 A.H.

No. 359 (pl. v. fig. 190). Silver. Weight, 168 grs Common.  
A.H. 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960.

Obverse—Square area, **لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدُ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ**

Margin, **أَبْكِرُ الصَّدِيقُ عَمَرُ الْقَارُوقُ عَمَانُ الْعَوْنَ** <sup>أَعْلَى الْمُرْتَضَى</sup>

**Abíbákr the true, 'Umar the discerning, 'Usmán the  
defender, 'Alí the chosen.**

Reverse—Area, **إِسْلَامُ شَاهُ اُبْنُ شِيرْ شَادُ سُلْطَانُ خَلَدُ اللَّهُ مَلَكُه**  
**بَيْهِ إِسْلَامُ سَاهِي**

Margin, ۱۷۷۷\* **جَلَالُ الدِّنِيَا وَالدِّينِ اُبْوَ الْمُلْكِرُ السُّلْطَانُ الْعَادِلُ**

\* The word **الْعَوْنَ** "The defender," "patron," also "servant," is a somewhat doubtful reading, as on many coins there seems to be a dot over the third letter, making it **الْعَوْنَ**. Marsden has given this word as **الْعَوْنَ**, but the best cut specimens of Islám's mintage display the medial **ع** or **خ** in its perfect shape. The proper word is **الْعَفَانَ**. Islám's coins are very dubious in their orthography in other respects, the **ابْن** being frequently written **بَنْ**, and the **سَاهِي** Sháhí being used indiscriminately with **سَاهِي** Sháh.

The same uncertain method of expressing the Devanágari equivalent of the Persian name of **شِيرْ شَاد** *Shir Sháh* is also to be seen in its full defects on the coins of that prince.

No. 360. Marsden, DCCXLIV.

Varieties—Agra, 952.

- „ Gwálior, 952, (953), 957.
- „ Satgáón, 951, 952, 953.
- „ Shakk-i Bakar, 953, 959
- „ Other dates, 956, 958, 960

Square areas.

الله لا إله

اسلام شاد اسن

محمد رسول الله

شر شاد سلطان

٩٥٣

خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه

Seal of Solomon

سی ہسلاام ساہ

Margin—The names and titles  
of the four companionsMargin—حلال الدين و الدنيا—  
أبو المظفر فرج ستكانوSome examples vary the Hindí orthography of the name of Islám to  
इस्लेम इस्लाम सह, etc.

No 360a. A half piece of this type. Weight, 84.5 grs.

No 361. Silver. Weight, 171 grs New variety. (My cabinet)  
Sharífábád, A.H. 953.

Circular areas.

The *Kalimah*.

اسلام شاد سلطان

ابن شر شاد

سلطان خلد

الله ملکه

Margin—ابوکر عمر عثمان  
علي السلطان العادل

حلال الدنيا و الدين ابو—Margin

المظفر (فرج) شریفاباد ٩٥٣

شی ہسلاام ساہی

No 361a Similar coin, without any mint record Dated 952 A.H.

No 362 Silver Square coin Weight, 172 and 178 grs  
A.H. 954, 956 Col Stacy

Obverse—The *Kalimah*

اسلام شاه اس شر شاه سلطان حلد الله ملکه ٩٥٤—Reverse

[ओ] इस्लाम

No 363 Copper Weight, 315 grs A.H. 952, 953, 954, 955,  
956, 957, 958, 959

في عهد الامير الحاكم الدين الدیان ٩٥٤—Obverse

ابو المطغر اسلام شاه اس شر شاه سلطان حلد الله ملکه—Reverse

No 364 Copper Weight, 38 grs

اسلام شاه شر شاه سلطان—Obverse

حلمه الرمان العادل—Reverse

No 364a Small coin Shírgarh A.H. 953

U Inscription of the time of Islám Sháh, A.H. 952, on 'Imad ul  
Mahk's Well at Dehh

سم الله الرحمن الرحيم در عباد و رمان سلطان السلاطين ابو المطغر

اسلام شاه اس شر شاه سلطان حلد الله ملکه و سلطانه سا کرد اين

چاه سرفتن الله بروح رسول الله ملکت عمدان الملك عرف حواجه

عبدالله لادر قرشى بدار الملك حضرت دھلى في سنه ائمہ د

حسن و تسعیمایہ Nos 35 and 61, Syud Ahmad's Asár us Sunnadeed.

V Second Inscription of the time of Islám Sháh, A.H. 958, on 'Imád ul Malik's *Bdol* at Dehli

\* تمام شد این ناوری و چاد در ماه رمضان در سه بیصد پنجاه و هشت شحری بروح محمد مصطفی رسول در کاه حضرت الله در رمان خادل اسلام شاه بن شر شاد ساکرده کارکن دین از حمله سشی حواحه عمام الملک عرف عمد الله لادر فریشی سده کارکن ناوری  
امدادوار عایت Nos 34 and 60, Syud Ahmad's Asár us Sunnadeed \* \*

There is also a short inscription, dated, in Persian, A.H. 954, on 'Isa Khán's Makbarah — Syud Ahmad's Asár us Sunnadeed

The public buildings, for which Islam Sháh's reign is remarkable, are the Fort of Selim Gúrh, marked B on the accompanying plan of Dehli, and the extensive fortress of Mankot or Manghar ( $32^{\circ} 37' N$   $74^{\circ} 55' E$ ), 76 miles N. of Amritsar

### THIRTY EIGHTH, THIRTY NINTH, AND FORTIETH KINGS

The historical events of the reigns of the three kings, who represent the obscuration of the Pathán dynasty of Dehli, are so interwoven with one another that it may be convenient to notice them in concert. On Islam Sháh's death, his son, Firuz Khán, a boy of twelve years of age, was for the moment elevated to the throne of his father, only to be quickly disposed of by Mubariz Khán, a nephew of Shúr Sháh, who thereupon usurped the sovereignty under the title of Muhammad 'Adil Sháh. Equally infamous and ignorant, the self-elected Sultán entrusted the direction of his kingdom

to one Hímu (a Hindú, accused by his enemies of having once been a shopkeeper), fortunately, the individual thus selected was as capable, as he subsequently proved himself true, and for the time he loyally upheld the fortunes of the monarch he served. The Sultan's singular tendency to resume *Jagirs* and other governmental estates from the parties in possession, and to transfer them to new nominees, apparently without any further object than to show his power so to do, led to an attack upon his person in open Darbar, from which a hasty and undignified flight but narrowly saved him. In 961 A.H., so serious a rebellion was organized that the monarch was obliged to march against the insurgents in person, when he attacked and routed them near Chunar. Shortly after this, Ibrahim Sur, 'Adil's cousin and brother in-law, revolted, and obtained possession of Dehli and Agra, obliging 'Adil Sháh to confine himself to the eastern portions of his dominions. No sooner, however, had Ibráhím seated himself on his newly-erected throne, than another competitor started up in the person of Ahmad, a nephew of Shír Sháh, who, under the designation of Sikandar Sháh, assumed royal honours, and defeating Ibráhím, succeeded to the rulership of his lately acquired territories. In the mean time, Muhammad Khan Gurá, governor of Bengal, disavowed allegiance to Muhammad 'Adil, but was eventually vanquished and slain by Hímu. Prior to this last action, Humáyun, operating in another direction, had repossessed himself of Agra and Dehli, and thus, in acquiring Sikandar's provinces, found himself in direct antagonism with Muhammad 'Adil. Hímu, hearing of the death of Humayun, which occurred about this time, and leaving his master in safety at Chunar, advanced upon Agra, which he entered unopposed, and thence proceeded to Dehli, where he overcame Tirdi Beg,

the Mughal governor. He next prepared for a march on Lahor, but was met on the plain of Paniput by Bahrám, the guardian of the young prince Akbar, and defeated and slain, after a display of considerable valour. 'Adil Shah continued to reign in his eastern dominions till he was killed, in 964 A.H., in an encounter with Bahádur Sháh, a pretender to the throne of Bengal.

#### MUHAMMAD ADIL

No 365 (pl. v fig. 194) Silver Weight, 174 grs Rare  
A.H. 961, 963 One specimen struck at Narnol<sup>1</sup>

Obverse—Square area, لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

Reverse—Square area, ٩٦١ ملكه محمد عادل شاه سلطان حمد الله ملكه

श्री महमद सह Sri Mahamad Sah

Margins illegible

No 366 Copper Weight, 322 grs Rare  
A.H. 961, 962, 963, 964

Obverse—أبو المطمر محمد شاه سلطان حمد الله ملكه

Reverse—في عهد الامير الحامى الدين الدinan ٩٦١

No 367 Copper Similar coins struck at Gwálior  
• A.H. 961, 962, 963, 964

#### IBRAHIM SUR

No 368 Copper Damaged coin. Mr Freeing's cabinet

Obverse—\* \* \* \* أبو المطمر ابرهيم س

Reverse—٩٦ \* \* صرب حضرت

<sup>1</sup> Narnol is a district N.W. of Agra and in Akbar's time comprised seventeen *mahals* with an area of 20,80,046 *bigjas*. The capital is situated in lat 28° 5' N. long 75° 52' E. 86 miles S.W. from the city of Delhi. It is a place of considerable antiquity, but now greatly reduced in size. Abdü'l Fażl mentions that this *mahal* was celebrated for its copper mines and mints were established in various localities for the immediate production of coin.—Ain-i Akbari ii 48 and iii 48. Hamilton's Hindustan, i. 401 and p. 403 *et seq.*

## SIKANDAR.

No. 369 (pl. v. fig. 197). Silver. Weight, 175 grs. Unique. A.H. 962.

Obverse—Square area, **الله الا الله محمد رسول الله**

Reverse—**سلطان سکندر شاہ سور**, ٩٦٢ \*

Margins illegible.

No. 370. Copper. Weight, 35 grs. Rare. A.H. 962.

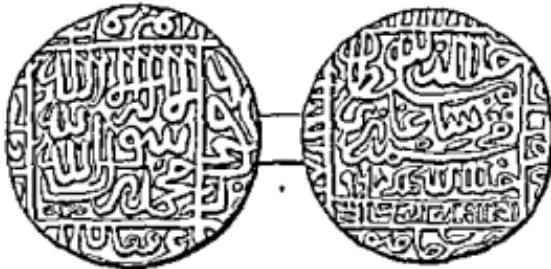
Obverse—**سلطان سکندر**

Reverse—**سکندر شاہ سلطانی**

The subjoined coin is somewhat out of place in the present series, which professes to limit itself to purely Pathán times; but the design of the piece identifies itself curiously with the prior mintages of Shír Sháh and the succeeding types accepted by Akbar. (Stewart's Bengal, p. 147.)

## JALAL SHAH OF BENGAL.

No. 371. Silver. Weight, 170 grs. Unique. Jápúr, A.H. 968.



Square areas.

|                     |                       |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| لا اله الا الله     | سلطان جلال الدين      |
| محمد رسول الله      | محمد شاہ غازی         |
| ابابکر صدیق عمر     | خلد الله ملکہ ٩٦٨     |
| خطاب عثمان عفان علی | امی جلال ساہی         |
| Margin—             | Margin—               |
|                     | ابو المظفر ضرب جاجپور |

## AKBAR'S COINAGE

I do not propose to include in the pages of this work any extended notice of the coins of Akbar, but there are many details in the practical working of his mints, of which we have an unusually full and complete record, under the hand of his minister, Abul Fazl, that specially illustrate the antecedent developments of the coinages of his predecessors. His fiscal theories, whether in the elaboration of pure revenue accounts, or the subordinate adjustments of scales and weights, confessedly followed local standards, and, as such, may be said essentially to belong to the prior period. As bearing upon this transitional epoch, four points of interest present themselves—I. The remodelled and reconstructed coinage itself, with its singularly complicated adaptations to minor and pre-existent subdivisions of the currency. II. The more general question of the relative values of the precious metals at the moment, which forms a curious item in the exchanges of the Eastern world. III. The very complete scheme of Seigniorage in recognized operation as between the State and the bullion merchant. IV. The geographical distribution of the provincial mints, which necessarily followed, in more or less completeness, the ancient traditions of the land.

## I COINS OF AKBAR

## GOLD

| NAME.                   | WEIGHT                                                                                                                         | VALUE |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| 1 <i>Rupee Sihansah</i> | Tolahs Mâshas Râs<br>• 101 9 7 = 100 L'al Jalâli <i>mu'ârs</i> at 10<br>rupees each = 1,000 ru-<br>pees, or 40,000 <i>dâms</i> |       |

| NAME                                                | WEIGHT                                                                                                                                                                                      | VALUE                                                                                                                                                             |
|-----------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Tolahs Mithas Ratia                                 |                                                                                                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                   |
| 2 Smaller variety of No 1                           | 91 8 0                                                                                                                                                                                      | =100 round mohars at 11 māshas of gold or 9 rupees each = 900 rupees or 36,000 dams                                                                               |
| 3 رہس <i>Rahas</i> . . .                            |                                                                                                                                                                                             | = $\frac{1}{2}$ of Nos 1 or 2, as their individual contents may indicate                                                                                          |
| 4 آٹی <i>Atmeh</i>                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                             | = $\frac{1}{2}$ of No 1                                                                                                                                           |
| 5. بنسات <i>Binsat</i> . .                          |                                                                                                                                                                                             | = $\frac{1}{2}$ of No 1 Similar coins, officially declared of the lower values of $\frac{1}{3}$ , $\frac{1}{10}$ , $\frac{1}{100}$ , and $\frac{1}{1000}$ of No 1 |
| 6 چار گوشہ <i>Chahar Góshah</i> 3 0 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ | = 30 rupees (No 10, square)                                                                                                                                                                 | Stated in the text to be $\frac{1}{30}$ of No 1, but seemingly nearer the proportion of $\frac{1}{30}$                                                            |
| 7 چکل <i>Chugul</i> . . 2 9 0                       | = 3 round mohars (No 10), at 9 rupees each = 27 rupees Recorded in the official summary as $\frac{1}{30}$ of No 2, though in actual value more like the previous fraction of $\frac{1}{30}$ |                                                                                                                                                                   |
| 8 الی <i>Ilah</i>                                   | 1 2 4 $\frac{1}{2}$                                                                                                                                                                         | = 12 rupees                                                                                                                                                       |
| 9 اسالی <i>Astlabi</i>                              | 12 1 $\frac{1}{2}$                                                                                                                                                                          | = 10 rupees The square L'al Jalah is stated to be identical in weight and value (The standard equivalent of 400 dams )                                            |

| NAME                                     | WEIGHT              | VALUE                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|------------------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Tolahs Mâsâs Ratios                      |                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| 9a لعل حلالي <i>L'al Jalâli</i><br>(Old) | 1 0 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ | = 400 <i>dâms</i> , or 10 rupees                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|                                          |                     | The extra weight beyond that allowed in the new coin, No 9, is probably due to the lower degree of fineness of the gold, <sup>1</sup> which was confessedly less pure, <i>quoad</i> its metal, than the new coins issued from Akbar's better organized mints |
| 10 عدل کٹ <i>Adl Gujkah</i>              | 11 0                | = 9 rupees Also known as the ordinary <i>round muhar</i> , in value 360 <i>dams</i> <sup>2</sup>                                                                                                                                                             |

Most of these latter coins have minor subdivisions of  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{3}$ ,  $\frac{1}{8}$ ,  $\frac{1}{15}$ ,  $\frac{1}{30}$

Marsden has several gold coins weighing as much as 168 grains, which may be supposed to correspond with the *round muhar*, No 10, whose full issue weight would have been  $(15.5 \times 11) = 170.5$  grains. Among the rest, he has a *Mihrdâi*, No. DCCCVIII, 166 $\frac{1}{2}$  grains. And there are pieces, Nos. DCCCXVIII and DCCCXIX, of 187.5 grains and No. DCCXXVI of 188.0 grains, which are all very close upon the weight required for No 9.

<sup>1</sup> Calcutta text p. 27 Gladwin 1. 37, Blochmann, p. 32. There is some obscurity in this passage. Gladwin's text gave a weight of 10 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ . My Dehli MSS. all concur in the figures 10 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  and accord with the weight adopted in the Calcutta text. Under these circumstances the translation of the context as 'of the greatest degree of fineness' or 'quite pure' must be modified to suit the facts. The original passage runs in my Dehli MSS.—

أول لعل حلالي و آن  
بكرامي نام روشايس \* ورن بک تولچه ويک سرح و سه ربع و عمار  
نکمال (نکامل var) تهمب چهار صد دام

<sup>2</sup> Also called under other forms, *Mihrdâi* and *Muhi*.

## SILVER.

روپیہ *Rupee* (round) = 11 *máshas* 4 *ratis*.

جلاہ *Jaldlah* (square) = 11 *máshas* 4 *ratis*.

Subdivisions—درب *Darb*,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; چرن *Charn*,  $\frac{1}{3}$ ; پانڈو *Pandu*,  $\frac{1}{3}$ , اشت *Ashi*,  $\frac{1}{4}$ ; دسا *Dasa*,  $\frac{1}{16}$ ; کالا *Kalá*,  $\frac{1}{16}$ ; سوکی *Súki*,  $\frac{1}{16}$ .

The old Akbar Sháhi round rupee was estimated at 39 *dáms*. The above coins were the revised representatives of 40 *dáms*.<sup>1</sup>

## COPPER

دام *Dám* = 1 *tolah* 8 *máshas* 7 *ratis*, or about 323.5625 grains of copper (estimating the *rati* at 1.9375 grains).

ادھلہ *Adhélah* = half a *dám*.

پالہ *Páulah* = a quarter of a *dám*.

دسری *Damri* = one-eighth of a *dám*.

The numismatic world in Europe was greatly excited a short time ago by the discovery of a Bactrian coin of Eukratides (B.C. 185), in gold,<sup>2</sup> of the unusual weight of 2593.5

<sup>1</sup> Inscription *Obverse*—الله اکر جل جلالہ—  
*Reverse*—Date

<sup>2</sup> To show how completely the *dám* was understood to form the unit or standard in all exchanges, it may be noticed, in addition to the theoretical evidence quoted above, as to the adjustment of the coinage in the higher metals to the more comprehensive totals in *ddáms*, that, practically, the *dám* was the ready money of prince and peasant. Abúl Fazl relates that a *kror* of *dáms* was kept ready for gifts etc., within the palace, "every thousand of which is kept in bags". Bernier mentions the continuation, even to Aurangzéb's time, of the same custom of having bags of 1000 *ddáms* ready for distribution. His words are—"et leur fait donner sur l'heure un sac de Peyses, ce qui vient à environ cinquante francs" (u. p. 65).

<sup>3</sup> This piece is highly finished in some of its artistic details, but is crude and imperfect in other respects. The difficulty of driving the high relief of the obverse die *home* is curiously illustrated by the palpable reapplication of that die, and a second resort to the hammer, but, in the process, the reverse die, which was less deep in its engraved surface, had been disregarded and shifted half way round, so that the second impression nearly obliterates the first, but still the former has left traces, in the texture of the gold, of the previous impact. The

grains, constituting, in the Greek scheme, a *twenty-stater piece*, or  $\frac{1}{5}$  *talent*. It is curious that the Greeks should so early have adapted themselves to Eastern notions of bullion and ingots, although they reduced the crude lump of metal to the classic form in which it now exists. This numismatic precedent introduces us appropriately to the massive medals of Akbar's mints. There was an idea abroad at one time that these Sihansah *coins* were merely occasional pieces, struck more for vanity sake than for real utility; but the number of specimens found ready prepared amid Akbar's reserved treasures,<sup>1</sup> and the continuity of their issue by succeeding

medal presented no particular novelty, such as should enhance its value to a numismatist, except its weight, as the type of the helmeted head of the king and the Dioceseuri *reverse* were sufficiently common. The coin is now in the Bibliothèque in Paris. See M. Chaboulet, *Revue Numismatique*, 1867, p. 383, Gen. Cunningham, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1869, p. 220, Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. vii figs. 1-3, Prinsep's *Essays*, II. 185, etc.

علی ۵۰ کرور روپیہ و هزار کرور نعل خاصه که پادشاه ندست  
حود خدا کرده بود ده من پخته طلای غیر مسکوک و هفتاد من پخته  
نقره غیر مسکوک و شصت من پخته بول ساه و پنج هزار کرور تکه  
—Ferishtah, Bombay Lithographed Persian text, I. p. 517.

That is to say—*a* 10,00,00,000 'Alfāi rupees (Nos. 132-134, *supra*)

" " *b* 1,00,00,00,000 Special gold Muhars (or square Lal Jalālis, No. 9 of Akbar's own coins)

" " *c* 10 mans of uncoined gold.

" " *d* 70 " " " silver

" " *e* 60 " " " copper

" " *f* 5,000,00,00,000 tankahs (? copper)

Briggs's translation (II. p. 281) varies some of these items, for instance, *b* is given as 1 *Aror* only, and is associated with the 'Alas of the opening sentence

Khāfi Khān's enumeration, in the *Muntakhab al Lubāb*, is as follows—

وقت وفات او که عرص حزانه کرسته سوای اشرفیای کل که  
از صد توله تا پانصد توله هزار اشرفی در خزانه موجود بود و ۵۰ کرور

kings,<sup>1</sup> seems to indicate that they were consistently designed to serve for the purposes of larger payments, such as our civilized age recognizes in one hundred pound notes, etc. Moreover, there was clearly a great temptation to the production of such single pieces when the State or the Sovereign himself, as will presently be shown, could realize the seigniorage of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, or from £5 10s to £27 10s, by each application of the royal dies.

روپیہ واشری طلائی یارڈہ مانہ و سیرہ و حارڈہ مانہ و دو صد و  
ھنڑاد و دو میں طلائی عمر مسکوٹ و سند و ھنڑاد میں تقریب نوں  
حام سوی حواہر کے قیمت آن ارسہ کرور روپیہ تجھور نمودہ نوں

—Calcutta Persian text, I, p. 243. The printed Persian text is obscure. The MS. of the Royal As. Soc., No. 77, xviii, slightly improves the run of the sentence.

a No definite specification is given, except the general reference to Gold Muhars of three varying standards (8, 9, 10, Akbar's series?) whose weights are erroneously given as 11, 13, and 14 *mdshas*, and an allusion to the massive gold pieces of 100 *tolahs* and *upicards* to 500 *tolahs*.

b 10,00,00,000 rupees

c 272 *mans* crude gold

d 370 " " silver

g 1 *man* of selected jewels, valued at 3 00,00 000 rupees

R. Hawkins also speaks of 20 000 gold pieces, of 1,000 rupees each, and 50 000 silver pieces of "Selim Sha of 100 Toles a piece," as existing in Jahangir's treasury.—Purchas i. 217.

<sup>1</sup> a There is a gilt copper cast of a Gold Muhar of Shah Jahān, dated Shah Jahānābād, 1064 A.D., in the Asiatic Society's Collection at the India Museum, measuring 5½ inches in diameter, and weighing in its representative metal 2 lbs 1 oz 7 dr. The original gold medal itself is fully described by Richardson, in his Persian Dictionary (edition 1823, p. 840), where it is stated to have weighed

"above 70 ounces, being 4 inches in diameter, and '4 lines in thickness.' In its legend it purports to represent a piece of 200 *muhrs*—b There is a silver medal at Dresden of Aurangzéb, minted at Shahjehānābād in the tenth year of his reign, 4 4 inches in diameter, which weighs 5 Saxon lbs = 5 1545 lbs English "Kehr," "Aurenkséb," Lapsus, 1725. See also Marsden, pp. 641

The Persian monarchs also issued large pieces in silver. Marsden, No. DLVI, p. 466 gives a coin of Husain Shāh (A.H. 1121) weighing 4 083 grains, and Prinsep has described a piece of the same monarch (A.H. 1118) weighing 843 grains.—Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, 1838, p. 415.

II From this summary of the minted coins of Akbar, as distinguished from the fanciful interchanges of names and terms applied to one and the same piece or measure of value, which have needlessly puzzled modern commentators, we may pass to the higher consideration of ratios of gold and silver, as proved by the rate of exchange formulated for the two metals in the practical mechanical department of the mint, and simultaneously promulgated in official language as the accepted rate of exchange

Abúl Ḥazl's copious and somewhat tedious statistics may be concentrated in their leading results as follows —

No 1 The massive piece, the Sihansah, of the above table, in value 100 L'al Jalalis, gives a return of weight in *gold* of *tolahs* 101, *mashas* 9, *ratis* 7 = 1000 *silver* rupees : 18328 :: 172,500 (172 5 × 100 × 10) : 1 :: 9 4118

No 2 The second or lower Sihansah, of 100 round *muhars*, produces a similar result Weight in *gold*, *tolahs* 91, *mashas* 8 = 900 *silver* rupees : 16500. 155250. (172 5 × 100 × 9) : 1 :: 9 409

No 6 Weight in *gold*, *tolahs* 3, *mashas* 0, *ratis* 5½ = 30 rupees of 11½ *mashas* each : 549 84 :: 172 5 × 30 (5175 0) : 1 :: 9 4118

No 7 Weight in *gold*, *tolahs* 2, *mashas* 9 = 27 rupees : 495 :: 172 5 × 27 (4657 5) : 1 :: 9 409

No 8 Weight in *gold*, *tolah* 1, *mashas* 2, *ratis* 4½ = 12 rupees : 218 90 :: 172 5 × 12 (2070 0) : 1 :: 9 4563

No 9 Weight in *gold*, *mashas* 12, *ratis* 1½ = 10 rupees : 183 28 :: 172 5 × 10 (1725 0) : 1 :: 9 4118

No 10 'Adl Gutkah, or Round Muhar, also called Mihrábi Weight in *gold*, 11 *mashas* = 9 rupees : 165 :: 172 5 × 9 (1552 5) : 1 :: 9 40909

These estimates are made upon the bases of the ordinary *tolah* of 180 grains, the *máscha* of 15 grains, and the *rat* of 1875 grains. The question of corresponding values in the English or any other scale need not affect the parallel result.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I gave more prominence to the above calculations, and even tested anew my earlier returns by the independent totals afforded by the larger sums originally omitted, because the obvious result of gold being to silver as one to 9 4, had been called in question by an official of the Calcutta mint (a Dr Shekleton), who, however, while unable either to correct my data, or to produce any possible evidence against my conclusions, ventured to affirm that "9 4 to one is a relative value of gold to silver, which never could really have existed" (Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, 1864, p. 517). Nevertheless, here is a series of comparative weights and values, furnished by the highest authority of the day, and each and all producing returns absolutely identical up to the first place of decimals. My original estimates were sketched and published at Dehli, in 1851, where I had access to the best MSS., to the most comprehensive range of antiquarian relics, and at command the most intelligent oral testimony in the land. When reprinting Prinsep's "Useful Tables," I had occasion to quote these calculations, and was able to fortify them, had it been needed, by the precisely analogous results obtained by Colonel W. Anderson, who had tried *Abdul Fazl*'s figures, from MSS. pure and simple, without any disturbing difficulty about coins (Prinsep's Useful Tables, London edition, vol. II p. 32). But if there were the faintest reason for doubting so moderate a rate as one to 9 4, the whole discussion might be set at rest by *Abdul Fazl*'s own statement as translated by Gladwin into English in 1783, when, in completing a very elaborate review of the profit and loss of refining gold, for the purpose of coinage, he concludes, and the process "leaves a remainder of about one half a *tolah* of gold, the value of which is four rupees" (1 p. 44).

Richard Hawkins, who was at Agra in A.D. 1609-11, during the reign of Jahangir, has left a notice of certain accumulated treasures of that prince which he was permitted to behold, and amongst the rest he specifies, "In primis, of Seraffins Ecbern, which be ten rupees apiece." To this passage is added, in a marginal note, that "a tole is a rupee challany [current] of silver, and ten of these toles are of the value of one of gold" (Purchas 1 217). This evidence might at first sight seem to militate against the conclusion arrived at from the official returns above summarized, but the value of gold was clearly on the rise, and one of the aims of Akbar's legislation on metallic exchanges, which had necessarily been disturbed by progressive modifications in the relative values of the precious metals, was manifestly to secure an authoritative *even* reckoning by tens and hundreds. The old round *muhar* (No. 10 of the above list) represented the inconvenient sum of nine rupees, or 360 *dáms*. By raising the weight of ~~the~~ piece to the higher total

III. The next section of Akbar's mint organization, which I have now to notice, is the amply defined official recognition of the law of seigniorage. The following outline table gives the results of a very uniform and well understood royalty, or mint charge, of over  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. upon the conversion of bullion into coin; and the Oriental craving after small profits is graphically confessed in the proviso that the State

given under No 9, the gold *tah* was made equivalent to ten rupees, or in fiscal reckoning to 400 *daams*. Similarly, in the case of the silver coin, the old rupee passed for 39 *daams*, in the new currency, a value of 40 *daams* was secured, not by an increase of weight, but by the declared and doubtlessly achieved higher standard of the metal employed, aided by the advantage that contemporary mintages so readily secured in India.

The question of the relative values of gold and silver formed the subject of discussion at a subsequent meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (6th December, 1865), when Colonel Lees stated his objections to some of my inferences. As I understand, he freely admits the correctness of the figures given above to establish the rate of one to 9 4, but he is disposed to distrust "calculations based upon mint regulations, during a period when the principle of a standard was but imperfectly understood even in Europe, and upon a unit of measure not accurately ascertained." I trust that the more ample details furnished in this volume will satisfy him that the Dehlí mint authorities had arrived at very distinct notions of the comparative values of the precious metals, and had elaborated the details of exchanges with very considerable success, when the singular complications of previous currencies had to be taken into account. I have already seen and corrected the error of my first interpretation of Ibn Batutah's text; and as regards Gladwin's translation of the passage above quoted, "which leaves a remainder," etc., I have not the slightest wish to uphold it in the face of a more full and rigorous interpretation of the special text, but ordinarily, a linguist of good repute, who has translated so big a book as the *Ain-i Akbari*, arrives at a pretty fair conception of the meaning of his author! I myself had no reserve in correcting Gladwin's figures, but in his simple reproduction of Indian phrases, I was quite content to follow such an authority without a critical re-examination of his Persian version. The argument about the half *tola*, however, is as unimportant at the present moment as the now rectified passage of Ibn Batutah, the value of whose statements on the subject of local money has altogether been superseded by the more exact details contributed by the *Masálik ul Absár*, pp 238, *suprd*. I see that Sir T. Roe, incidentally speaking of the weight of Jahángir, specifies it as 9,000 rupees, or £1,000 sterling.

should benefit for the amount of interest the merchant might possibly have had to pay.

| Outlay by merchants in current coin, for crude metal. | Total Mint return after refining. |          |        |    | Merchants' return, with fractional profits. |    |     |          | State seigniorage. |    |    |    |
|-------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------|--------|----|---------------------------------------------|----|-----|----------|--------------------|----|----|----|
|                                                       | Muhars                            | Rs. Dáms | Jitals |    | M.                                          | R. | D.  | J.       | M.                 | R. | D. | J. |
| 100 L'l Jálali                                        |                                   |          |        |    |                                             |    |     |          |                    |    |    |    |
| Gold Muhars                                           | a. 105                            | 39       | 25     | 0  | 100                                         | 12 | 37  | 3½       | 5                  | 12 | 3½ | 0  |
| 950 Rupees (crude metal test) . . . . .               | b.                                | 1006     | 27     | 20 | 953                                         | 21 | 10½ | 50       | 13                 | 0  |    |    |
| 950 Rupees (old coin test) c.                         | 1015                              | 20       | 0      |    | 954                                         | 29 | 0   |          | 50                 | 24 | 0  |    |
| 1044 dáms (the cost of one man of copper) . . . . .   | d.                                | 1170     | 0      |    |                                             |    |     | 1062 19½ |                    | 58 | 20 |    |

Mint charges—*a.* Rs. 7.26.20½; *b.* Rs. 2.33.2; *c.* Rs. 10.12.14½; *d.* Rs. 1.8.18.

Dr. H. Blochmann (pp. 37, 38) notices some minor errors in the simple addition of the several items, . . . and there are obvious discrepancies in the totals assigned for the mint charges. Gladwin's figures are also more or less uncertain (i. 45).

#### IV. AKBAR'S MINTS.

|                                           |                                        |
|-------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| أُنْكَتْ Attock.                          | أَكْرَمْ Agrah.* †                     |
| أَجْمِيرْ Ajmír.                          | الْوَرْ Alwar.                         |
| أَحْمَدَبَادْ Ahmadábád.* †<br>(Gujarát). | الْهَبَّاسْ Hahábás.*<br>أُودَهْ Oude. |

\* In cases where the gold employed belongs to the State, an extra deduction is made for the interest the merchant would otherwise have had to pay, to the amount of rupees 6.37½ (Gladwin, 6.10.12½).

AKBAR'S MINTS—*continued*

|           |                |          |            |
|-----------|----------------|----------|------------|
| اوحس      | Ujain †        | سنبھل    | Sambhal    |
| بداؤن     | Badion,        | سورت     | Surat †    |
| سارس      | Benares        | سھارپور  | Saharanpur |
| بگالہ     | Bengal * †     | سالکوت   | Sálkot     |
| بھکر      | Bhakar         | قوح      | Kanauj     |
| پش        | Paṭṭan.        | کابل     | Kábul * †  |
| پٹھ       | Paṭnah †       | کالپی    | Kálpi      |
| بھرا      | Bhírah         | کشمیر    | Kashmír †  |
| تانڈہ     | Tandah †       | کلانور   | Kalanur    |
| حالدھر    | Jalandhar      | گوالیار  | Gwalior    |
| حوبپور    | Jaunpur        | گورکھپور | Gorakhpur  |
| حصار فرور | Hissár Fíruzah | لاہور    | Lahor †    |
| دھلی      | Dehlı †        | لکھنؤ    | Lakhnau    |
| ریتھ سور  | Ranthambhor    | ماٹھورا  | Maṭhura.   |
| سارنگپور  | Sarangpur      | مليان    | Multán †   |
| سروج      | Sironj         | منڈو     | Mandú.     |
| سرھند     | Sirhind        | ناگور    | Nágor      |
| (سرید)    |                | ہردوار   | Hardwár    |

Those mints marked \* were alone permitted to coin gold. The issue of silver money was restricted to the cities marked with †, and the other towns coined nothing but copper.

In order to form a correct estimate of the effective value of money, and the purchasing power of the income of the State it is necessary to take into consideration the prices of provisions at the period. The following Table will give some idea of the extraordinary cheapness of food, though the

prices are sufficiently high for the discriminated articles of luxury.

AVERAGE PRICES OF PROVISIONS IN AKBAR'S REIGN.<sup>1</sup>

Wheat, گندم, 12 dâms per man of 55'467,857 lbs. avoirdupois.

„ Flour, according to fineness, from 22 to 15 dâms.

Barley, جو, 8 dâms per man (ground barley, 11 dâms).

Rice, شالی and برنج, varieties, according to qualities, ranging from the extremes of 110 to 20 dâms per man.

Pulse, مونگ (Phaseolus mungo) . . . . 18 dâms per man.

Mash, ماش (Phaseolus radiatus) . . . . 16 „ „ „

Nakhúd, نخود (Cicer arietinum) . . . . 16½ „ „ „

Moth, موٹ (Phaseolus aconitifolius) . . . . 12 „ „ „

Juwár, جوار (Holcus sorghum) . . . . 10 „ „ „

White Sugar, شکر سفید . . . . 128 „ „ „

Brown „ شکر سرخ . . . . 56 „ „ „

Ghí (clarified butter) رونگ زرد . . . . 105 „ „ „

Sesamum Oil, روغن تیل . . . . 80 „ „ „

Salt, سکت . . . . 16 „ „ „

Sheep from 6½ to 1½ rupees each. Mutton, 65 dâms per man.

Goats' flesh, 54 dâms per man.

The official *man* of Akbar's reign is defined as 40 *sirs*, each *sir* comprising the weight of 30 *dams*. This gives a return for the *man* of 388,275 grains, or very nearly half a hundred

<sup>1</sup> Gladwin, i p 85, Blochmann, p 62, Calcutta Persian text, p 60. Abdul Farz remarks—"The prices, of course, vary, as on marches, or during the rainy season, and for other reasons, but I shall give here the average prices."

weight avoirdupois.<sup>1</sup> So that, at the rate of 12 *dáms* for the *man* of wheat, and the exchange of 2*s* per rupee, the quarter of corn would only cost about  $3\frac{4}{5}d$ . Firúz Sháh's price current (p. 283), reckoned in *jitals*, would give an almost identical result, i.e. 8 *jitals*, or 3*d*. in English money, for the then *man* of wheat, estimated at 28 lbs, and 'Alá-ud-dín's earlier (A.D. 1295-1315) and assumedly forced reduction upon ordinary current prices would differ only to the almost imperceptible extent of half a *jital*—“or  $7\frac{1}{2}$  *jitals* per *man*, of 28 lbs (p. 160).

#### COMPARATIVE COST OF LABOUR

|                                                      |    |                                                                                 |
|------------------------------------------------------|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Bricklayers                                          | 7  | <i>dáms</i> to 4 <i>dáms</i> per day (or $4\frac{3}{5}d$ . to $2\frac{4}{5}d$ ) |
| Carpenters                                           | 7  | “ “ “ “ “                                                                       |
| Bildárs <sup>2</sup>                                 | 3½ | “ “ “ “ “                                                                       |
| Ordinary labourers                                   | 2  | “ “ “ “ (or $1\frac{8}{5}d$ )                                                   |
| Matchlockmen, in the royal army, 6 rupees per month. |    |                                                                                 |
| Archers                                              | 2½ | rupees “                                                                        |

<sup>1</sup> The figures are as follows—323 5625 grains (the *ddm*) $\times 30 \times 40 = 388,275$  0 The English half hundredweight, 56 lbs avoirdupois, is 392,000 grains. Then 24 pence—40=2 4 farthings, or 12 *ddms*=7 2 pence. As regards the *jitals*, the sum runs, 24 pence—64=1 5 farthing, or 1 5 $\times$ 8=12 farthings, or 3 pence. Colonel Anderson's independent but somewhat vague estimate of Akbar's *man* was 368 880 0 grains—Prinsep, Useful Tables, p 22. It has been so far demonstrated, at p 161, that the *man* of 'Alá-ud-dín's time (A.D. 1295-1315) ranged at something over 28 lbs avoirdupois, and I should have been greatly inclined to distrust the extraordinary weight now assigned to Akbar's *man*, were it not that Abú'l Fazl expressly mentions (p. 100) that “formerly” the *sur* consisted of 18 *ddms* in some parts of Hindústán, of 22 *ddms* in other divisions of the country, and of 28 *ddms* on the accession of Akbar, who himself raised it to 30 *ddms*. Moreover, we have seen that the weight of the *ddm* itself was also largely increased from its ancient limit in Shir Sháh's reign. Under these circumstances, objection can scarcely be taken to the total now produced from the figured data and extant coins of the period, which, strange to say, closely accords with R. Hawkins's rough definition of Jahángir's *man* as “55 lbs weight”—Purchas i. 218.

<sup>2</sup> One who works with a *bil* or *bd*, “a pickaxe” A navvy

## AKBAR'S REVENUES

I have had occasion to advert incidentally to the revenues of India during Akbar's reign, in connexion with the State resources of his predecessors. As much obscurity has prevailed with regard to the correct comprehension of values, even where figures were unassailable, I revert to the subject in its appropriate association with Akbar's monetary system, in order to exhibit more fully the absolute data available for the determination of the relative amount of the taxes imposed upon the dominions of that great monarch, at the period.

It must be premised, in forming any comparative estimate of these assessments, that each province had to furnish a State contingent of cavalry and infantry, specified in full detail with other imperial demands, apart from the mere money payments entered in the divisional accounts, so that the country had to support a very large, though probably ineffective, army, over and above its ordinary revenue liabilities. The number of men mustered in this *Zamindari* force is reckoned at the very high figure of 4,400,000, in addition to the due proportion of horses and elephants each sub-division was bound to maintain. No reduction is made in the State demand for the payment of these troops, who are styled *بُرْجَ بُرْمَ*, "Landwehr," in contradistinction to the better organized Royal army. If we estimate the cost to the country for this force at the very low figure of two rupees per man (including the purchase and feed of horses and elephants), it amounts of itself to a sum of more than

ten millions of pounds, which as a purely speculative estimate might honestly be doubled.

I repeat the substance, and enlarge the context, of Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad's statement of the amount of the current income, and again venture to impress upon all those who would follow up the inquiry, the value of the evidence on this and cognate subjects contributed by an author who had served for many years as *Bakhshi*, or military accountant, practically as co-administrator of the province of Gujarát.

Speaking of the country of Hindústán, he proceeds—"Its length from Hindú Koh, on the borders of Badakhshán, to the country of Orissa, which is on the borders of Bengal, from west to east, is 1680 legal *los*. Its breadth from Kashmír to the hills of Barújh, which is on the borders of Súrat and Gujarát, is 800 *los* Iláhi. Another mode is to take the breadth from the hills of Kumáon to the borders of the Dakhan, which amounts to 1000 Iláhi *los*. . . . At the present time, namely, A. H. 1002, Hindústán contains 3,200 towns (including 120 large cities) and 500,000 villages, and yields a revenue of 640,00,00,000 *tankahs*."<sup>1</sup> The author adds, that as there is no room for the list of cities in this summary, he will give them in full alphabetical order on some future occasion, a task he seems never to have fulfilled.

Abúl Fazl's returns of Akbar's revenues are summarized from his imperfect data in the subjoined table, amounting, with later returns, but with all other deficiencies, to a total of *five arb*,<sup>2</sup> *sixty-seven krors*, *sixty-three laks*, 83 thousand and 383 *dams*, a sum not very far removed, with fair allowances

<sup>1</sup> See p. 383 *ante*, Elliot's Index, p. 204, Morley's Catalogue of the Royal Asiatic Society's MSS., p. 61, Stewart's Catalogue of Tippoo Sultán's Library, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> The *arb* اربُعَةُ اربُعَةُ is 100 millions, or 100 *krors*, the *kror* is 100 *laks*, and the *lak* 100 thousand.

for omissions in such imperfect documents,<sup>1</sup> from the speculative correction of *six arbs*, proposed at p. 389. There is no suspicion of Abúl Fazl's want of faith, even if any motive could be imagined for such a tendency, but it is clear that a comprehensive work like the *Aín-i Akbari*, a positive gazetteer of all India, must have been compiled from the statistics of various State departments, working with but little systematic concert, and its tabulated returns but imperfectly brought up to the changes of the day.<sup>2</sup>

|                            |     |     |           |     |                           |             |
|----------------------------|-----|-----|-----------|-----|---------------------------|-------------|
| I. Allahábád ...           | ... | ... | ...       | ... | 21,24,27,119              | <i>dáms</i> |
| II. Agra ...               | ... | ... | ...       | ... | <sup>3</sup> 54,62,50,304 | ,           |
| III. Oude ...              | ... | ... | ...       | ... | 20,17,53,172              | ,           |
| IV. Ajmáit ...             | ... | ... | ...       | ... | <sup>4</sup> 28,61,37,968 | ,           |
| V. Ahmadábád (Gujarát) ... | ... | ... | ...       | ... | 43,68,02,301              | ,           |
|                            | "   | "   | Port dues |     | 1,62,628                  | ,           |
| VI. Bihár ...              | ... | ... | ...       | ... | 22,19,19,404              | ,           |
| VII. Bengal ...            | ... | ... | ...       | ... | 59,84,59,319              | ,           |
| VIII. Dehli ...            | ... | ... | ...       | ... | 60,16,15,555              | ,           |

<sup>1</sup> The majority of these *taksim jam'a* statements refer to the fifteenth year of the reign, and probably indicate a much lower revenue than the improved management of the succeeding twenty-five years secured for the State. The incorporation, however, of the returns of the new *súbhás* plainly demonstrates the system of later additions to the original text.

<sup>2</sup> Akbar claims to have abolished numerous vexatious taxes, which it is admitted "used to equal the quit rent of Hindústán" (Gladwin, 1. 359). A full enumeration of these cesses is given in the *Aín-i Akbari*, and among other State demands thus abandoned figures the especially Muhammadan *Jizyah*, or Poll-tax (see note 5, p. 272 *ante*), levied upon unbelievers. This, in effect, constituted a rough species of income-tax, being graduated according to the means of the different classes of the Hindú community. It may be said to have been invidious, in the one sense, but it was simple, easily collected, and had none of the odious inquisitorial adjuncts of the British Income tax. We find the *Jizyah* however, in restored vigour during succeeding reigns.

<sup>3</sup> Gladwin has 64 *Arors*.

<sup>4</sup> This total is obtained from the *Sirkár* details. Gladwin's text, p. 105, has only 2,28,41,007 *dáms*.

|                                                          |                                                                                                                             |
|----------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| IX. Kábul <sup>1</sup>                                   | { Simple <i>dáms</i> ... ... 27,27,17,786 <i>dáms</i> .<br>Converted money, omitting payments in kind } 5,01,23,200 , ,     |
| X. Láhor                                                 | ... ... ... ... 55,94,58,423 , ,                                                                                            |
| XI. Multán                                               | ... ... ... ... 28,40,30,589 , ,                                                                                            |
| XII. Málwah                                              | ... ... ... ... 24,06,95,052 , ,                                                                                            |
|                                                          | <hr/>                                                                                                                       |
|                                                          | 4,61,25,57,820 old <i>súbahs</i>                                                                                            |
| XIII. Berár <sup>2</sup> (from the <i>taksim jam'a</i> ) | 69,50,44,682 <i>dáms</i>                                                                                                    |
| XIV. Khandés <sup>3</sup> . . . . .                      | 30,25,29,488 , ,                                                                                                            |
| XV. Ahmadnagar (not entered).                            |                                                                                                                             |
| Tatah                                                    | ... ... ... ... 6,62,51,393 , ,                                                                                             |
|                                                          | <hr/>                                                                                                                       |
|                                                          | 1,06,38,25,563 new <i>súbahs</i>                                                                                            |
| Grand total                                              | ... ... 5,67,63,83,383 <i>dáms</i> , at the<br>rate of 20 <i>double dáms</i> per rupee =<br>Rs 28,38,19,169, or £28,381,916 |

<sup>1</sup> Otherwise designated as "Súbah Kashmir" (u p 152), "Kábul, cited as the modern capital" (p 199), subordinated equally as "Sirkár Kábul," but under the final *taksim jam'a*, p 107, elevated to the rank of "Súbah Kábul." Under Sirkár Kandahár (p 196), there is a full definition of the relative values of the coins, in which the comparative estimates are framed, viz., 18 *dindrs* = 1 *tumdn*, each local *tumdn* being = 800 *dáms*. A note is attached to the effect that the *tumdn* of Khorásán is 30 rupees, and that of Irak 40 rupees.

<sup>2</sup> The Multán return, in the preliminary statement, is 15,14 03,619, both in the Calcutta revised text and in Gladwin's old translation. The above figures exhibit the combined *taksim jam'a* or detail apportionment of the revenue of the several districts included in the Súbah, entered in the working or administrative lists.

<sup>3</sup> This return is taken from the detailed statements, pp 61 68. The returns are clearly imperfect, and filled up with fanciful figures in the lower totals, a fact which contrasts in a marked manner with the precision observed in the minor figures of the revenues of the more definitely settled provinces. The total here obtained, however, does not differ very materially from the summary of local *tankahs* quoted below from another part of the work, though it seems to indicate a later manipulation and elaboration of accounts. "This *súbah* (Berár) contains 13 *sirkdrs* divided into 142 *pergunnahs*. The *tankah* of this country is equal to eight of those of Deblí. Originally the amount of revenue was 3½ *krors* of *tankahs*, or 66 *krors* of *dáms*, . . . during the government of Sultan Murád the amount rose to 61 26 03 272 *dáms*." — *Kin-i Akbari*, Gladwin, u p 74.

<sup>4</sup> The introductory summary of the Súbah of Khandés (p 66) estimates the

I have placed the subjoined estimates of the Indian imperial revenues, at various periods, in close juxtaposition with a view to availing myself of the opportunity of explaining the seemingly anomalous contrasts they present in their opening totals, and of tracing, in as much consecutive order as the materials admit of, the varying phases of the national progress.

|                                       | Silver Tankahs (or Rupees) | £ sterling at 2s per Rupee |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Fírúz Sháh, A.D. 1351-1388.           | 6,08,50,000.               | 6,085,000 (p 272)          |
| Bábar, A.D. 1526-1500 .....           | 2,60,00,000.               | 2,600,000 (p 388)          |
| Akbar, A.D. 1593.....                 | 32,00,00,000.              | 32,000,000 (p 388)         |
| Akbar, <i>estimated</i> later returns | 33,14,87,772               | 33,148,777 (p 389)         |
| Aurangzéb, A.D. 1697.....             | 38,71,94,000.              | 38,719,400 (p 390)         |

The leading item of the relatively large income of Fírúz Sháh, with his avowedly narrowed boundaries, would naturally seem to conflict with the reduced total confessed to by Bábar, who boasted of so much greater a breadth of territory; but these difficulties are susceptible of very simple explanation. In Fírúz Sháh's time the country was positively full to overflowing of the precious metals, which had been uniformly attracted towards the capital from various causes for nearly a century previously. The innate wealth of the metropolitan provinces may be tested by the multitude of the extant specimens of the gold and silver coinages of the previous reigns, and the confessed facility with which millions might be accumulated by officials of no very high degree. The whole land was otherwise teeming with mate-

revenue at 12,64,762 Berári *fanjhs*, at 24 dáms the *fanjha*, that is to say, at 3,03,54,288 *ddams*, but the distribution list at p 60, 2nd part, raises the sum total to 1,26,47,062 *tanlahs*, or 30,25,29,488 *ddams*. There is clearly an error of figures in the first quotation, which the detailed totals of the 32 *pergunnahs* in themselves suffice to prove, as they mount up in simple addition to the still larger sum of 1,55,46,863 *tanlahs*.

rial wealth, and was administered by home-taught men, who realized every fraction that the State could claim.

Far different were the circumstances which Bábar's limited tenure of his straggling conquests presented. Timúr had effectually ruined the land through which his plundering hordes had passed—what his followers could not carry away they destroyed; and while the distant provinces retained their wealth the old capital and all around it was impoverished to desolation; so that when the prestige of Dehli re-asserted itself under Buhlól Lódi, he was forced to resort to the local copper mines for a new currency (p. 363); and though public affairs and national wealth improved under his son Sikandar, the standard coin was only raised to something like  $\frac{1}{2}$  silver to the copper basis, which, however, secured a more portable piece, and a more creditable value, a currency which found ready acceptance with races who had already been educated in the theory of mixed metals. The substantial prosperity of Hindústán under Ibrahím, the son of Sikandar, was absolutely unprecedented. Cheapness and plenty became fabulous even to the native mind, but this very prosperity of the people reduced, *pari passu*, the income of the king which was derived directly from the produce of the land, his dues being primarily payable in kind, so that when corn was cheap the money value of his revenues declined in equal proportion.<sup>1</sup> And thus it came about that

<sup>1</sup> It never, does not in a view to remedy this state of things that Akbar introduced his flow from another, the germ of that pernicious measure, Lord Corgwallis's Permanent Settlement. Akbar's intentions were equitable, and the pact as between 140 and 142 *pergun* left little to be objected to; but the uniformity it was desired to procure, originally dependent upon higher powers, and the Indian climate could not be made during the *Un-i-Akbari* the treaty. Hence, in bad seasons, the arrangement worked harshly against the poorer cultivators, and threw them more and

when Babar examined the accumulated treasures of the house of Lodi, at Agra, he found but little beyond the current copper coinage leavened with a small modicum of silver

The statistical returns of Babar's time were clearly based upon the old rent rolls of that unacknowledged originator of all later Indian revenue systems, Sikandar bin Buhlol. A single subdued confession in Bábar's table<sup>1</sup> suffices to prove this, and simultaneously with the retention of these State ledgers the interlopers clearly accepted the official method of reckoning in Sikandari Tankahs, which, numismatically speaking, must have been almost the only coins available at the period, the prolific issue of which may be tested by the multitude of the pieces still in existence, and the completeness of the series of dates spreading over 26 continuous years of Sikandar's reign, already cited at page 366

The rest of these comparative returns may be dismissed with brief notice. The statement of Nizam ud din Ahmad is clear as to Abbar's revenues in A.D. 1593. The reception of the speculative return for the later period of his reign depends upon the accuracy of my rectification of Abul Fazl's Persian text, and the justification of my assumption that the *dáms*, in which the totals are framed, were double and not single *dams*. For this correction I have no specific authority beyond the coincidence of Nizám ud din's employment of an identical measure of value in his parallel return, and the consistency with which the aggregate sum produced

more into the hands of usurers whose lawful Oriental rate of interest was enough to crush far more thrifty cultivators than the ordinary Indian *Rāyat*. The ten years settlement itself was based upon the average returns of the ten preceding harvests, from the fifteenth to the twenty fourth year (inclusive) of Akbar's reign  
—Gladwin 1 p. 366

<sup>1</sup> 'No 5 Mewat, not included in Sikandar's revenue roll (p. 390)

accords with the enhanced revenue of the kingdom under Aurangzéb

Here I take leave of this branch of my leading subject, which, if it fails to secure the attention of the general reader, cannot but assert its importance with those who interest themselves in the real welfare of India, and who are prepared to recognize the pervading influence of the past upon the possible future of the land Great Britain has accepted as a profitable heritage, without any very clear conception of associate responsibilities

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## APPENDIX.

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As the subject of Indian finance is just now attracting the serious attention of the English public, I have thought it advisable to reproduce in full the information summarized at pp 433-7, regarding the revenues of Akbar and Aurangzéb, and, further, to test my own deductions by some new data, which I have obtained since the previous pages were set up by the printer

The general list of addenda includes the following —

I A brief but curious passage from De Laet,<sup>1</sup> which furnishes a fresh and independent test of the values of the various currencies in which the revenue returns of Akbar were framed

II The summarized return of Sháh Jahan's revenues, for his twentieth year, from the "Badsháh Namah" of 'Abd al Hamíd, *Lahori*, a contemporary statement, which was adopted in all its integrity by another living witness, Ašna Ináyat Khan, in his Sháh Jahan Namah, and finally incorporated in Kháfi Khan's work on the history of the house of Timur

III The original text *in extenso* of Catron's comprehensive account of the land revenues of Aurangzéb, including his specification of other fiscal demands, raising the average burthen

<sup>1</sup> *De Imperio Magni Mogolis sive India Vera* Joannes de Laet Lugduni Batavorum, ex officina Elzeviriana, 1631. The section of the work from which the extract now reprinted is taken constitutes the tenth or supplementary chapter on Indian history derived from contemporary national and other testimony, and translated into Latin from the Dutch. The dates of events are carried down to A.D. 1628

upon the country at large, to a second moiety or full equivalent of the sum obtained from the ordinary land tax<sup>1</sup>

IV The statistics furnished by the traveller Bernier, which, though less full and complete than the associate return, are of considerable value, as being clearly derived from independent sources, and as confirming or correcting, as the case may be, the parallel figures preserved by Catron

The first statistical return hereunto appended is contributed by De Laet from immediately contemporaneous information, and refers to a third or final phase of Akbar's revenue accounts, when his successor came to take stock of his father's accumulated treasures and current rent roll. The document itself, which has only lately been brought to my notice,<sup>2</sup> furnishes a severe critical test of the soundness of the deductions previously arrived at from other sources. Curiously enough, it confirms in the most definite manner my determination of the intrinsic value of the Sikandari Tankah (pp 369, 384, 388), and upholds, what I felt at the moment to be almost a *tour de force*, in the suggested substitution of *six* for *three* in the "hundred millions" of Akbar's revenue entered in the corrupt Persian text of Abul Fazl (pp 388*n*, 437), but, on the other hand, the context of the Latin passage raises a doubt as to my justification in substituting double for single *ddms* in the reduction of the given total into other currencies. There need be no reserve in confessing that *all* commentators upon the revenue returns of the *Āīn-i Akbari* have hitherto

<sup>1</sup> Catron, *Histoire de l'Empire Mogol* Paris, 1715

<sup>2</sup> My attention was first attracted to this curious and very rare work by an excellent article in the *Calcutta Review* (October, 1870, January, 1871), on the "Topography of the Mogul Empire" by Mr F Lethbridge, which traces, with equal patience and ability the geographical details furnished by the opening chapter entitled "India sive Imperii Magni Mogolis Topographica Descriptio"

concurred<sup>1</sup> in accepting the *dam* as  $\frac{1}{16}$  part of a rupee, it is so defined in unmistakable terms in the table of coins (pp 360 n, 421), but, singularly enough, there is no such parallel declaration of its value when it is entered under the generic name in the section of the work devoted to the revenue details. We have seen how frequently, in the Indian system, a nominal coin of a fixed denomination possessed no tangible representative, but was left to be made up in practice of two half pieces (pp 361-2). So that if the archaic *Karsla* was so far a money of account as to be represented by two pieces of copper, and the *Buhlohi* in like manner remained an uncoined penny payable by two half pence, we may readily admit their successor the *dam* to a similar theoretical and practical condition.

If we look to the origin of Akbar's revenue tables, there is much to support the view that the old *Sikandari* or *double dam* continued to hold its place in the State ledgers. Akbar, following Babar's example, clearly took over Sikandar's original field measurements, even to the irrepressible *unit* of his yard measure (p 373). We have no knowledge of the precise currency in which Shur Shah's accounts were kept, but to judge by the ultimate retention of so much of Sikandar's system, there was probably no needless interference with established money values. In regard to De Laet's definitions, in as far as they conflict with probabilities, I should infer that the process by which he obtained his alternative totals was the application of the coin values entered in other sections of his work,<sup>2</sup> to the grand total of 6,98,00,00,000 *dams* furnished to

<sup>1</sup> Myself among the number. Erskine was the first to propose, with much hesitation the possibility of the alternative I now contend for.

<sup>2</sup> Especially from a notice on Akbar's treasures p 143 which however does not exhibit any profound knowledge of the subject. I may add, in connexion with

him by his informants. This is the process, as we have already seen, adopted by our own commentators, and in no way renders it obligatory upon us to accept any thing but the leading figures pure and simple, to test, therefore, the consistency of the results he arrives at, we must compare prior and subsequent statistics.

The true amount of Babar's revenue is now completely demonstrated and established by the new definition of the "Tanga" as  $\frac{1}{50}$  of a rupee. The gradual increment upon Akbar's early return of the thirty ninth year (viz., £32,000,000) to £33,148,771 in later periods, and to £34,900,000 in the fifty first year, is consistent in the several gradational sums, and leads naturally up to Aurangzéb's improved revenues of £38,719,400<sup>1</sup>. The question we have now to decide is, can the second and third of these totals be reduced with any seeming reason to one half, or the sums represented by a computation of the original totals at  $\frac{1}{50}$  of a rupee?

If Nizám ud dín's total of £32,000,000, expressed in now positively ascertained values, refers to Akbar's land revenue alone (in 1593 A.D.), as it would seem to do, and Aurangzéb's unquestioned modern currency (or rupee) income of £38,719,400 represents the parallel increase in the charge upon the land incident to the enhanced wealth of the country and irregularly extended boundaries, the reduction of Akbar's 6,98,00,00,000 *dams*, the sum returned for A.D. 1605, into £17,450,000, seems to be altogether inadmissible. It is true that Akbar professes to have abandoned taxes in amount "equal to the quit-rent of Hindústan" (p. 432), but that rent-charge throughout remained unaffected, these cesses were

<sup>1</sup> The notes at pp. 422, 433, and 434, state that De Laun's grand total of the contents of Akbar's treasure chamber, reduced into rupees, is defined at 19,83,46,666<sup>1</sup> or £19,834 66s.

<sup>2</sup> I accept Catron's total, though his detailed sums do not quite accord with

confessedly outside the fixed state demand on the land. And Aurangzéb in his turn realized from similar sources, according to Catron, a sum which in like manner doubled the normal (land) revenue of the empire. A still more approximate test of comparative values is furnished by the computed revenues of an intermediate period, under Sháh Jahán, in 1648 A.D., when the accounts were still kept in the conventional *dáms*. These are stated by 'Abd al Hamíd to have amounted in all to the sum of 8,80,00,00,000 *dáms*.

I need not repeat the arguments already advanced in favour of the inference that these were *double ddms*, but the question may be

the aggregate furnished in his text. I have tabulated these returns for facility of reference.

|               |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |              |         |
|---------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------------|---------|
| 1. Dehli      | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,25,50,000  | rupees. |
| 2. Agrah      | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2,22,03,550  | "       |
| 3. Láhor      | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2,33,05,000  | "       |
| 4. Ajmir      | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2,19,00,002  | "       |
| 5. Gujarát    | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2,33,95,000  | "       |
| 6. Málwah     | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 99,06,250    | "       |
| 7. Bibár      | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,21,50,000  | "       |
| 8. Multán     | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 50,25,000    | "       |
| 9. Kábul      | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 32,07,250    | "       |
| 10. Tata      | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 60,02,000    | "       |
| 11. Bakar     | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 24,00,000    | "       |
| 12. Urecha    | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 57,07,500    | "       |
| 13. Kashmír   | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 35,05,000    | "       |
| 14. Allahábád | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 77,38,000    | "       |
| 15. Dakhan    | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,62,04,750  | "       |
| 16. Berár     | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,68,07,500  | "       |
| 17. Kandés    | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,11,05,000  | "       |
| 18. Baglana   | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 68,85,000    | "       |
| 19. Mandú ?   | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 72,00,000    | "       |
| 20. Bengal    | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4,00,00,000  | "       |
| 21. Ujan      | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2,00,00,000  | "       |
| 22. Rajmahal  | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,00,50,000  | "       |
| 23. Bijapúr   | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 6,00,00,000  | "       |
| 24. Golconda  | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5,00,00,000  | "       |
|               |     |     |     |     |     |     |     | 38,62,46,802 | "       |

put broadly on its own merits, and apart from any foregone conclusion—does the sum of £22,000,000 (8,80,00,00,000 — 40 — 10) or the higher amount of £44,000,000 (8,10,00,00,000 — 20 — 10) more nearly accord with the clearly defined sum of £38,719,400 realized in A.D. 1697? was there anything in the history of the intervening half century to sanction the idea of an approximate advance of one third in the revenue during the period, as implied in an increase of nearly seventeen millions, or is it more within the limits of common sense to suppose that the subsequent collections should have fallen off to the extent of 5½ millions? Undoubtedly the latter represents a less abrupt transition, and is in some degree accounted for by the loss of Balkh, Kandahar, and Badakshán, which figure for respectable sums in Sháh Jahán's list, and the temporary possession of which may have largely influenced the general trade of India, but otherwise the provincial totals are too little in unison to afford any very safe basis of extended comparison.

Finally, to set the question of approximate values completely at rest, I am able to produce the unofficial but very material testimony of Captain Richard Hawkins, in support of my theory, regarding the system of reckoning by *double dams*, to the effect that in A.D. 1609-1611 Jahángír's land revenue amounted to "50,00,00,000 rupees" (£50,000,000)<sup>1</sup> Our countryman dealt in round numbers and refers to no authoritative data, so that his leading figures may

<sup>1</sup> "The king's yearly income of his crown land is 50 crore of rupias, every crore is 100 lack and every lack is 100 thousand rupias. Side note—The rupia is two shillings sterling, some say 2s 3d some 2s 6d—Purchas, i 216

Sir Thomas Roe writing from Ajmír in A.D. 1615, advertises incidentally to Jahángír's revenue in the following terms—“In revenue he doubtless exceeds either Turk or Persian or any Eastern Prince, the sums I dare not name—Let us to Archibishop of Canterbury in Churchill's Voyages, I. p. 659

be open to canvass, but the fact of rupee estimates being found intruding thus early upon the domain of the normal *dam*, enables us to check anew the relative values of the *dam* currency by the contemporaneous test of *rupee* equivalents. Under this aspect, my case may be said to be fully made out, no explanation, within the range of probabilities, would suffice to reduce the land revenues of 1605 A.D. to the single *dam* estimate of £17,450,000, in the face of a total of anything like an ordinary annual income of £50,000,000 in 1609-1611 A.D.

In conclusion, I recapitulate the contrasted returns of the nine periods

|                                       | Silver Tankahs (or Rupees) | £ sterling at 2s per rupee |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Fíruz Shah, A.D. 1351-1388            | 6,08,50,000                | 6,085,000                  |
| Bábar, A.D. 1526-1530 . . . . .       | 2,60,00,000                | 2,600,000                  |
| Akbar, A.D. 1593 . . . . .            | 32,00,00,000               | 32,000,000                 |
| Akbar, <i>estimated</i> later returns | 33,14,87,772               | 33,148,777                 |
| Akbar, A.D. 1605 . . . . .            | 34,90,00,000               | 34,900,000                 |
| Jahangir, A.D. 1609-1611 . . . . .    | 50,00,00,000               | 50,000,000                 |
| Jahángir, A.D. 1628 . . . . .         | 35,00,00,000               | 35,000,000                 |
| Sháh Jahan, A.D. 1648 . . . . .       | 44,00,00,000               | 44,000,000                 |
| Aurangzéb, A.D. 1697 . . . . .        | 38,71,94,000               | 38,719,400                 |

Aurangzéb's total revenue from various sources, 77,43,88,000 silver tankahs (or rupees), at 2s per rupee=£77,438,800 sterling

I Parebant tum ipsi hæc provincie *Kandahaer*, *Kabul*, *Kassamier*, *Ghassenie*, & *Benazaed*, *Guzaratta*, *Sinde*, sive *Tatta*, *Gandhees*, *Brampor*, *Barar*, *Bengala*, *Orixa*, *Ode*, *Malouru*, *Agra*, *Delly*, cum suis limitibus & quibus annuus census colligitur, uti constat & rationali Regis Achabar, vii A.D. & xcvi Caror, *Dam*, id est, si ad tangas exigas iii A.D. and xl ix Caror tangarum, sive secundum monetam regni, xx tangas in singulas rupias computando, aut i Caror tangarum in v lack rupiar xvi Caror & xl v Lack rupiarum atque universus hic annuus census in Magnates, Duceisque & stipendia militum effunditur De Thesauris a Rege Achabare relictis alibi diximus

II. General revenue return for the twentieth year of the reign of Sháh Jahán (A.D. 1648), from the "Bádsháh Námah" of 'Abd al Hamíd, *Láhori*. The text adds, that at the death of Jahángír, in A.D. 1628, the Land Revenue of the State only amounted to 700,00,00,000 *dáms*, or £35,000,000. Various satisfactory causes are enumerated to explain the increase under Sháh Jahán.<sup>1</sup>

|     |            |     |     |     |     |     |                |              |
|-----|------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|----------------|--------------|
| 1.  | Dehli      | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,00,00,00,000 | <i>dáms.</i> |
| 2.  | Agrah      | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 90,00,00,000   | "            |
| 3.  | Láhor      | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 90,00,00,000   | "            |
| 4.  | Ajmír      | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 60,00,00,000   | "            |
| 5.  | Daulatábád | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 55,00,00,000   | "            |
| 6.  | Berár      | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 55,00,00,000   | "            |
| 7.  | Ahmadábád  | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 53,00,00,000   | "            |
| 8.  | Bengal     | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 50,00,00,000   | "            |
| 9.  | Allahábád  | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 40,00,00,000   | "            |
| 10. | Bihár      | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 40,00,00,000   | "            |
| 11. | Málwah     | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 40,00,00,000   | "            |
| 12. | Khandés    | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 40,00,00,000   | "            |
| 13. | Oude       | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 30,00,00,000   | "            |
| 14. | Telingánah | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 30,00,00,000   | "            |
| 15. | Multán     | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 28,00,00,000   | "            |
| 16. | Orissa     | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 20,00,00,000   | "            |
| 17. | Kábul      | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 16,00,00,000   | "            |
| 18. | Kashmír    | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 15,00,00,000   | "            |
| 19. | Tájah      | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 8,00,00,000    | "            |
| 20. | Balkh      | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 8,00,00,000    | "            |
| 21. | Kandahár   | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 6,00,00,000    | "            |
| 22. | Badakhshán | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4,00,00,000    | "            |
| 23. | Baglánah   | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2,00,00,000    | "            |
|     |            |     |     |     |     |     | 8,80,00,00,000 | "            |

Or at  $\frac{1}{20}$  per rupee, 44,00,00,000 rupees, £44,000,000.

<sup>1</sup> This is avowedly a summary average, and not an absolute or formal return, but it is fully trustworthy, as the alternative rate at the commencement of the reign shows that the author (writing in the twenty-first year) had access to official documents for both periods.—Calcutta Persian text, ii. 710.

III. "Ce que nous avons dit jusqu'icy, est un préjugé favorable pour rendre croisible ce que nous allons dire. Sans doute on ne sera plus surpris des immenses revenus que le Mogol recueille de ses Etats. En voici la liste tirée des archives de l'Empire. L'état du produit de ce grand Domaine, que l'Empereur possède lui seul dans toute l'étendue de sa Souveraineté, étoit, en l'année 1697, tel que nous l'allons représenter. Pour en avoir l'intelligence, il faut supposer deux choses. Premièrement, que tous les Royaumes de l'Empire se divisent en *Sarcas*, qui veut dire, *provinces*; que les *Sarcas* se divisent encore en *Parganas*, c'est-a-dire, en *Gouvernemens dans l'étendue d'une Province*. Ce sont, à proprement parler, des souveraines. Secondement, il faut supposer, que selon la manière de compter dans l'Indoustan, un *carol* vaut cent *lags*, c'est-a-dire, dix millions; & qu'un *lag* vaut cent mille *roupies*: Enfin que les *roupies* valent à peu près *trente sols*, monnoye de France. Le Royaume de Dely a dans son Gouvernement huit *Sarcas*, & deux cens vingt *Parganas*, qui rendent *un carol, cing-vingt lags & cinquante mille roupies* (1,25,50,000 rupees). Le Royaume d'Agra compte dans son enceinte quatorze *Sarcas*, & deux cens soixante & dix-huit *Parganas*. Ils rendent à l'Empereur, *deux carols, cingt-deux lags & trois mille cinq cens cinquante roupies* (2,22,03,550 rupees). On trouve dans l'étendue du Royaume de Labor, cinq *Sarcas*, & trois cens quatorze *Parganas*, qui rendent *deux carols, trente-trois lags & cinq mille roupies* (2,33,05,000 rupees). Le Royaume d'Asmir, ses *Sarcas* & *Parganas* paient, *deux carols, dix-neuf lags & deux roupies* (2,19,00,002 rupees). Celui de Guzuratte, qui dans son enceinte renferme neuf *Sarcas* & dix-neuf *Parganas*, donne à l'Empereur *deux carols, trente-trois lags & quatre-vingt quinze mille roupies* (2,33,95,000 rupees). Le Royaume de Malua, divisé en onze *Sarcas* & en deux cens cinquante petits *Parganas*, ne rend que *quatre-vingt dix-neuf lags, six mille deux cens cinquante roupies* (99,06,250 rupees). On compte dans le Royaume de Bear huit *Sarcas* & deux cens quarante-cinq petits *Parganas*. L'Empereur en tire *un carol, cingl-&-un lag & cinquante mille roupies* (1,21,50,000 rupees). Les quatorze *Sarcas* partagez en quatre-vingt seize *Parganas* du Royaume de Multan, ne donnent à l'Empereur que *cinquante lags & cingt-cinq mille roupies* (50,25,000 rupees). Le Royaume de

Cabul, divisé en trente-cinq Parganas, ne rend que *trente-deux lags, & sept mille deux cens cinquante roupies* (32,07,250 rupees). Le Roiâume de Tata paie *soixante lags, & deux mille roupies* (60,02,000 rupees); & celui de Bacar, seulement *vingt-quatre lags* (24,00,000 rupees). Dans de Roiâume d'Urecha, quoiqu'on compte onze Sarcas & un assez grand nombre de Parganas, on ne paye que *cinquante-sept lags, & sept mille cinq cens roupies* (57,07,500 rupees). Les quarante-six Parganas du Roiâume Cachemire, ne rendent que *trente-cinq lags, & cinq mille roupies* (35,05,000 rupees). Le Roiâume d'Illaras avec ses dépendances rend *soixante & dix-sept lags, & trente-huit mille roupies* (77,38,000 rupees). Le Roiâume de Decan, qu'on divise en huit Sarcas & en soixante & dix-neuf Parganas, paie *un carol, soixante-&-deux lags, & quatre mille sept cens cinquante roupies* (1,62,04,750 rupees). Au Roiâume de Barar, on compte dix Sarcas & cent quatre-vingt-onze petits Parganas. L'Empereur en tire *un carol, cinquante-huit lags, & sept mille cinq cens roupies* (1,58,07,500 rupees). Le grande province de Candis, que nous mettons icy sur le pied des Roiâumes, rend au Mogol *un carol, onze lags & cinq mille roupies* (1,11,05,000 rupees). Le Roiâume de Baglana a quarante-trois Parganas. L'Empereur en tire *soixante-&-huit lags, & quatre-vingt-cinq mille roupies* (68,85,000 rupees). On ne paye au Roiâume de Nande que *soixante-&-douze lags* (72,00,000 rupees). Dans celui de Bengale on donne à l'Empereur *quatre carols* (4,00,00,000 rupees). Le Roiâume d'Ugen rend *deux carols* (2,00,00,000 rupees). Celui de Ragemahal *un carol, & cinquante mille roupies* (1,00,50,000 rupees). L'Empereur exige du Roiâume de Visipour & d'une partie de la Province de Carnatte *cinq carols* (5,00,00,000 rupees). Enfin le Roiâume de Goleconde & une autre partie de Carnatte rend aussi *cinq carols* (5,00,00,000 rupees). Le tout supputé fait *trois cens quatre-vingt-sept millions de roupies & cent quatre-vingt-quatorze mille* (38,71,94,000 rupees, or £38,719,100). Ainsi à prendre les roupies des Indes pour trente sols ou environ de notre monnaie de France, le Domaine de l'Empereur Mogol lui produit tous les ans, *cinq cens quatre-vingt millions, sept cens quatre-vingt onze mille livres*. Outre ces revenus fixes du Domaine, qu'on tire seulement des fruits de la terre, le casuel de l'Empire est une autre source de richesses pour l'Empereur. 1°. On exige tous les ans un

tribut par tête de tous les Indiens idolâtres. Comme la mort, les voyages, & les suites de ces anciens habitans de l'Indoustan, en rendent le nombre incertain, on le diminue beaucoup à l'Empereur. Les gouverneurs profitent de leur déguisement. 2° Toutes les marchandises, que les Négocians Idolâtres font transporter, payent aux Douanes cinq pour cent de leur valeur. Orangzeb a exempté les Mahométans de ces sortes d'impôts. 3° Le blanchissage de cette multitude infinie de toiles qu'on travaille aux Indes, est encore la matière d'un tribut. 4° La mine de diamans paye à l'Empereur une grosse somme. Il exige pour lui les plus beaux & les plus parfaits, c'est-à-dire tous ceux qui sont au dessus de *trois huit*. 5° Les ports de mer, & particulièrement ceux de Sindj, de Barocha, de Suratte, & de Cambaye, sont taxez à de grosses sommes. Suratte seul rend ordinairement *trente lags* pour les droits d'entrées, & *onze lags* pour le profit des monnoyes qu'on y fait battre. 6° Toute la côte de Coromandel, et les Ports situés sur les bords du Gange, produisent de gros revenus au Souverain. 7° Ce qui les augmente infiniment c'est l'héritage qu'il perçoit universellement de tous ses Sujets Mahométans qui sont à sa solde, tous les meubles, tout l'argent, & tous les effets de celui qui meurt, appartiennent de droit à l'Empereur. Par là les femmes des Gouverneurs de Provinces & des Généraux d'armées, sont souvent réduites à une pension modique, & leurs enfans, s'ils sont sans mérite, sont réduits à la mendicité. 8° Les tributs des Rajas sont assez considérables pour tenir place parmi les principaux revenus du Mogol. Tout ce casuel de l'Empire, égale, à peu près, ou surpasse même les immenses richesses que l'Empereur perçoit des seuls fonds de terre de son Domaine. On est étonné sans doute d'une si prodigieuse opulence, mais il faut considérer que tant de richesses n'entre dans les trésors du Mogol, que pour en sortir tous les ans, du moins en partie, & pour couler une autre fois sur ses terres. La moitié de l'Empire subsiste par les liberalitez du Prince, ou du moins elle est à ses gages. Outre ce grande nombre d'Officiers & de Soldats qui ne vivent que de la paye, tous les Paisans de la campagne, qui ne labourent que pour le Souverain sont nourris à ses frais & presque tous les Artisans des villes, qu'on fait travailler pour le Mogol, sont payez du Tresor.

Impérial On conjecture assez quelle est la dépendance des Sujets, & par conséquent quelle est leur déférence pour leur Maître

IV. "Memoire oublié à inserer dans mon premier Ouvrage pour perfectionner la Carte de l'Indoustan, et savoir les Revenus du Grand Mogol "

|    |                        |     |     |     |     |             |
|----|------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------------|
| 1  | Dehli                  | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,95,25,000 |
| 2  | Agra                   | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2,52,25,000 |
| 3  | Lahor                  | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2,46,95,000 |
| 4  | Hasmir <sup>1</sup>    | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2,19,70,000 |
| 5  | Gujarát (Ahmadabád)    | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,33,95,000 |
| 6  | Kandahar <sup>2</sup>  | ... | ... | ... | ... | 19,92,500   |
| 7  | Malwah                 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 91,62,500   |
| 8  | Patna or Bihár         | ... | ... | ... | ... | 95,80,000   |
| 9  | Allahábád              | ... | ... | ... | ... | 94,70,000   |
| 10 | Oude                   | ... | ... | ... | ... | 68,30,000   |
| 11 | Multán                 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,18,40,500 |
| 12 | "Jagannat"             | ... | ... | ... | ... | 72,70,000   |
| 13 | Kashmír                | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3,50,000    |
| 14 | Kabul                  | ... | ... | ... | ... | 32,72,500   |
| 15 | Tata                   | ... | ... | ... | ... | 23,20,000   |
| 16 | Aurangábád             | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,72,27,500 |
| 17 | "Varada"               | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,68,75,000 |
| 18 | Khandés                | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,85,50,000 |
| 19 | Tilingana <sup>3</sup> | ... | ... | ... | ... | 68,85,000   |
| 20 | Bagnala <sup>4</sup>   | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5,00,000    |

Rs 22,59,14,500 or £22,591,450

—Bernier's Voyages, Amsterdam, 1724, vol II., p 354

<sup>1</sup> Qui appartient à un Raja, donne au roi de tribut, etc

<sup>2</sup> Chiefly under Persia, Pergunnahs remaining to India pay as above

<sup>3</sup> Talengand, qui confine au Royaume de Golconde du côté de Massipatan, quarante trois Pragnas "

<sup>4</sup> Bagnala qui confine aux terres des Portugais et aux montagnes de Sevagi, ce Raja qui a saccagé Sourate, a deux Serkars, huit Pragnas "

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